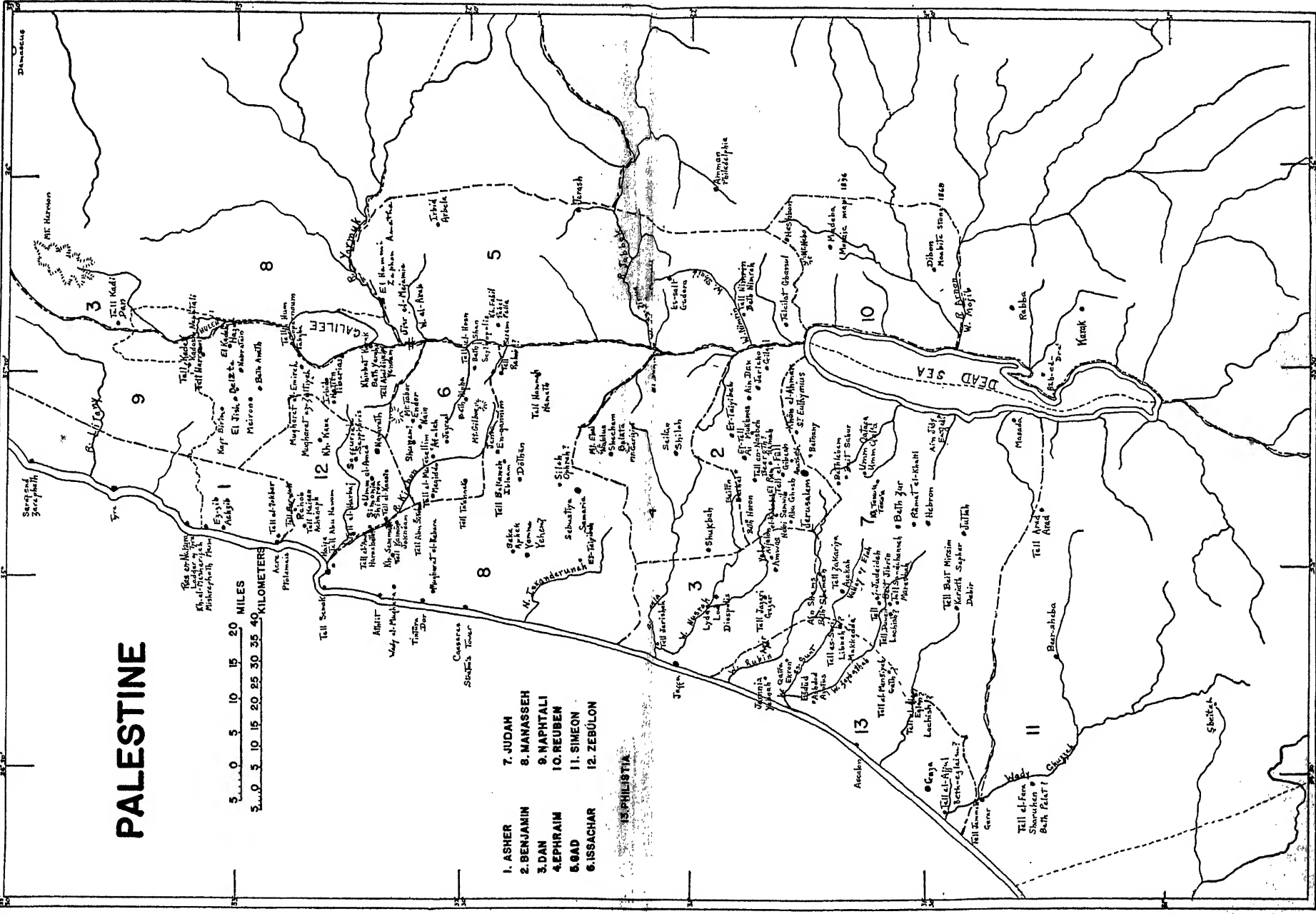


PALESTINE

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KILOMETERS
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2. BENJAMIN
3. DAN
4. EPHRAIM
5. GAD
6. ISSACHAR
7. JUDAH
8. MANASSEH
9. NAPHTALI
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CULTURE AND CONSCIENCE

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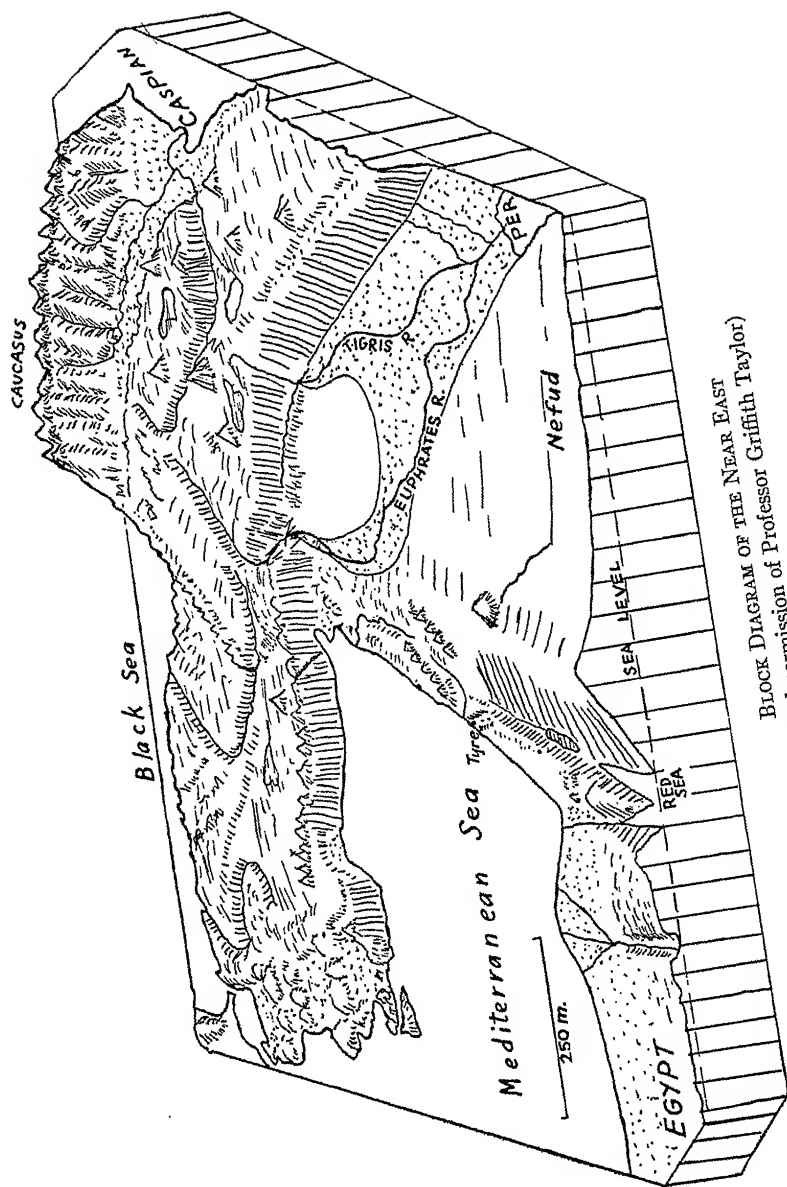
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Block Diagram of the Near East
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CULTURE AND CONSCIENCE

An Archaeological Study of the New
Religious Past in Ancient Palestine

By

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TO THE MEMORY OF
JAMES HENRY BREASTED
STUDENT OF THE PAST
FRIEND OF THE FUTURE



PREFACE

In the ensuing volume an attempt has been made to interpret the significance of the material remains of cultic life in Palestine in relation to the origins and development of the religious aspects of the culture of the Hebrews. This difficult task has been undertaken in a spirit of modesty amounting almost to trepidation, and it is hoped that the published result will convey to the scholarly world our deep sense of gratitude for the arduous labors of those authorities upon whose works we have drawn and to whom we have endeavored to give full credit in our footnotes. We submit our efforts in this complex field in no dogmatic spirit, yet are emboldened to hope that they will merit some measure of commendation from those qualified to pronounce on their worth.

The point of view concerning the major problem which has been attacked has, we hope, been presented with sufficient clarity, even though the scope of the volume has precluded an adequate marshaling of the evidence from the text of the Old Testament. The positions we have endeavored to suggest have been arrived at in a relationship of mutual stimulation over a period of years, a relationship which has made this a co-operative enterprise in the fullest sense of the term. We have written under the stimulus of the memory of the teaching of our revered professor, the late J. M. Powis Smith, and under the direct encouragement of the late Director of the Oriental Institute, Professor James Henry Breasted. The fact that

the latter examined the manuscript and accepted the dedication just prior to his recent unexpected passing leads us to hope that it may be, relatively speaking, worthy of the tradition in which he sought to confirm his associates.

We acknowledge with deep thanks the generous assistance of our friend Mr. Robert Engberg, now a fellow of the Oriental Institute, who read for us the typescript and contributed many valuable suggestions, and of Professor George Walter Fiske of the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, who also read the typescript and made helpful suggestions concerning its organization. The kindly interest and encouragement of Dean Emeritus Gordon J. Laing and Dean Emeritus Shailer Mathews, both of whom read the typescript and made constructive comment, are also acknowledged with gratitude.

The drawings for the illustrations were kindly made by Mrs. Helen I. May. They are intended to present the more significant details of the originals from which they were drawn. We appreciate the ready courtesy with which permission was granted by authors and publishers to make drawings from illustrations in their publications. Thanks are also due to Miss Vivian Landstrom for valuable secretarial assistance.

WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM
HERBERT GORDON MAY

February 29, 1936

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASOR</i>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (New Haven, 1920—)
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology (Baltimore, 1885—)
<i>AJSL</i>	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago, 1884—)
<i>AJT</i>	American Journal of Theology (Chicago, 1897-1920)
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (South Hadly, Mass., 1919—)
<i>BW</i>	Biblical World (Chicago, 1893-1920)
<i>HTR</i>	Harvard Theological Review (New York, 1908—)
<i>ILN</i>	Illustrated London News
<i>JBL</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature (New Haven, 1881—)
<i>JDAI</i>	Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts des Deutschen Reichs (Berlin, 1887—)
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London, 1914—)
<i>JPOS</i>	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society (Jerusalem, 1923—)
<i>JR</i>	Journal of Religion (Chicago, 1921—)
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London, 1834—)
<i>MJ</i>	The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1910—)
<i>OIC</i>	Oriental Institute Communications (Chicago, 1922—)
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, 1924—)
<i>PEF</i>	The Palestine Exploration Fund
<i>PEFA</i>	Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund (London, 1911—)
<i>PEFQS</i>	Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund (London, 1869—)
<i>PPT</i>	The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1897)

<i>QDAP</i>	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine (Jerusalem, 1931—)
<i>RB</i>	Révue Biblique (Paris, 1892—)
<i>RHR</i>	Révue de l'Histoire des Religions (Paris, 1880—)
<i>ZAW</i>	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Gießen, 1881—)
<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1847—)
<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-vereins (Leipzig, 1878—)

FOREWORD

"THE NEW PAST"¹

It is natural to think of the past as "old" rather than as "new." This is especially likely to be the case when attention is turned to the events which occurred in the Mediterranean world back in the days when the foundations of Western culture were being laid. Many moderns of the West have derived whatever ideas they have of that particular segment of the human record from the pages of the Bible or from indoctrination based thereupon. Thus it is that in the minds of many the "Holy Land" and its environs are associated with static and idealized achievement rather than with a dynamic and disciplining process of endeavor. These venerable regions are to such the scenic background of a moving drama enacted at some point in the past, whether the drama be the promulgation of a divine law through Moses on Mount Sinai or the sacrificial offering-up of a divine life on Mount Calvary. They belong, these lands, to those high moments of an idealized past which may, with greater or less frequency, intrude into the present, but which, nevertheless, are all too seldom felt to be genetically related to it.

The expression "New Past" suggests that something is now being done to the past which in some way is changing

¹ See J. H. Breasted, "The New Past," *University Record* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), VI, No. 4 (October, 1920), 237-56. This suggestive phrase was first employed in the convocation address published as above indicated.

its quality—something which makes it other than the past which earlier generations, as well as large numbers of the present generation, have known. The endeavor which is thus affecting the past has itself been under way for generations. It is one of the many movements which received a powerful stimulus from the Renaissance. For in that great awakening the humanistic disciplines were suffused with a spirit of curiosity which made them less and less amenable to confinement within an inherited ideological structure. For the time being, knowledge, as the one trustworthy basis of philosophy, assumed more urgent importance than thought itself.

It was through that way of looking at the matter that a change began to be wrought in the quality of the past. Under this emphasis the sources of knowledge came to command increasing attention. Philologists and literary critics developed methods, properly describable as scientific, for the study of the literary records of the past. By these labors, as well as by the spirit of the times, historians were imbued with a stronger sense of their responsibility for assembling and correlating facts. The voracious appetite for objective data which was thus aroused could not, as far as the more ancient cultures were concerned, be indefinitely satisfied by the relatively meager written sources. Thus, first through geographical exploration, then through the study of the surface remains of the material aspects of ancient cultures, and finally through the probing of the soil for buried evidence, the determined effort to exhaust the sources of knowledge about the distant past was carried on. Today this humanistic discipline finds itself touching, at some point or other, the

interest and knowledge of those who labor in almost any corner of the fields of the social and natural sciences. It is this feature of the spirit of true science, namely, that it impels its devotees toward synthesis, which constitutes that deep-lying affinity between the scientist and the religious man which is, at the present moment, slowly but surely dawning upon the public consciousness.

It is clearly the case that the labors which are being expended on the past are resulting in what may be justly, as well as happily, called a "New Past." Nevertheless, a moment's reflection on the sense in which the past is thus being made new is not amiss at this juncture. Obviously, of course, it is being made new in the sense that it is being made different. A vast and constantly growing mass of data, unknown to earlier generations, is now available to students of the past. Archaeology has summoned lost races and cultures from tombs of oblivion. It has caused the people of those times to parade the stage of history as once they passed across the stage of life. The past is more crowded, more complex, more lit up with gleams of life as it used to be lived, than it has ever been before. It is veritably "new" in the sense that it is richly different.

Yet, if those whose task it is to recover the "New Past" were to rest content merely with increasing knowledge, or even with enriching understanding, of the past, they would fail of their true vocation. For, after all, this preoccupation with the past, more especially with that remote past which can only be recovered through long and laborious techniques, is no longer a matter of individual tastes and capacities. It has assumed the proportions of a factor in the present social situation, and its motivations and

aims are therefore a matter of social concern. To make the past "new" in the sense which has just been indicated does not, of itself, endow it with cogency to the contemporary social process. There is a higher and more imperative function than the mere assembling and relating of data. What, then, is the nature of this function?

One of the many striking ideas which germinated in the mind of the late Professor Mead has been summarized thus by Professor Murphy: "As the condition of the present, the past, then, will vary as the present varies, and *new pasts* 'will arise behind us' in the course of evolution as each present 'marks out and in a sense selects what has made its own peculiarity possible.'"² In Professor Mead's philosophy, as Professor Murphy points out,³ the past of any moment is something more than a mere series of "antecedent presents." It is precisely and only those antecedent presents without which the emergent present "could not have been what it is." The past, then, at least to the average consciousness, does not survive as the past but only as an element in the present. To make the past "new" in this sense is, then, to open up a vista which clarifies the understanding of the present, and which should sooner or later, in a society of potentially rational beings, clear the way for a more intelligent and wise conditioning of the future. One is, of course, aware of the distaste of many professional historians for such a view of their function and admits that there are grave dangers lurking in the path of those who recognize this social ob-

² George Herbert Mead, *The Philosophy of the Present*, ed. Arthur E. Murphy (Chicago: Open Court, 1932), p. xviii. The italics are ours.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi ff.

ligation. Yet, it is hard to see how history, considered as a social science, can isolate itself from the contemporary scene. The historian has a duty not merely to amass and relate data concerning the past but also to distill from his sources and present to the public what is relevant to the present. It is easy to forget that much of the past is not relevant to the present and to nullify, through neglect of this selective function, the only social justification for historical study.⁴

The implication that only that part of the past which can be discerned to have genetic relationship to the emergent present is real for that present should not be accepted without a word of caution. The careless adoption of some such idea leads to the very common assumption that only the recent past is actually influential in the present. That this is not the case every realistic observer of the contemporary scene knows full well. The most tenacious forces which have to be dealt with in the effort to achieve a cultural synthesis for this "machine age" are deeply rooted in the distant past. It is, indeed, precisely at this point that the acid test may be applied to anyone who professes a vocation for executive leadership in the present. For if, in his zeal for freedom of action at the moment, he betray impatience with or contempt for the past, he is of all men least likely to be capable of creative leadership in the present. Almost assuredly will he succumb to the pressure of the merely recent, adjacent, or imminent. He may become a successful opportunistic politician, but he will

⁴ It is true, of course, that since historians differ personally there will inevitably be a wide range of difference, in the histories written in any period, with regard to the aspects of the past thus interpreted.

never rank with the immortals who have helped to raise the human quest to some higher level. Freedom to deal constructively with the present is not gained without a reasonable measure of understanding of the past.⁵

With a qualification which includes the distant with the recent past as a conditioning factor in the emergent present the recognition of Professor Mead's definition should bring to all who concern themselves with the recovery of the "New Past" a sense of social vocation in the contemporary situation. The dissolution of the ideological structures of other days does not at all justify the conclusion that a social cosmos can ever exist without some controlling philosophy. And whatever in the past bears most cogently on the modern effort to arrive at such is of most immediate and urgent significance for the life of today. There is, for example, nothing that is essentially new in the modern trend to dictatorships which threaten to submerge the individual through the exaltation of certain individuals as executively powerful symbols of the social group. This phenomenon roots back in the distant past; and the average man has a right to know about its origins, its history, and its sanctioning philosophy from those whom he deputizes to understand the past. Only as these are faithful can he hope to react intelligently to such a social trend. The "New Past" is intimately related to his hope of a new future. The more he seeks understanding of the one, the greater will be the likelihood of his realizing the other.

The present volume has been planned with these ideas

⁵ Cf. Gilbert Murray, *Tradition and Progress* (Boston and New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1922), pp. 1 ff.

in mind. Its aim is to suggest, to a larger than professional public, the bearing of some of the evidence recovered through archaeological research upon certain aspects of life in ancient Palestine which may be reasonably believed to be exercising a conditioning influence on the life of today. It is in furtherance of this purpose that attention is specifically directed to the religious aspects of the culture of that region during the periods prior to and contemporary with the formation of the Old Testament. For, whatever may be the case in the modern West, in that age and place religion functioned quite influentially. Then it was a powerful instrument for that direction of life, through orderly channels, toward ends believed to be significant, without which there is no culture.

One of the reasons why the present is a time of such perplexity is that these proper functions of religion are not being adequately discharged. That does not mean that the social forces which crystallize about organized religion are of negligible strength. Only prejudiced and superficial observers of the signs of these times cherish such a delusion. But it does, without doubt, mean that they have been, and are now being, improperly and wastefully utilized.

There is nothing surprising about this, for it has always been the case. All through the centuries, since the very dawn of culture, religion has been fighting a losing battle, yet never quite losing the fight. Again and again it has been reinvigorated and given a new lease of life by the genius of individuals who have somehow linked it up with the ongoing social process and made it in some measure adequate to the peculiar human needs of some group

through a span of years. As one scans the roster of such religious geniuses, one finds that in each case the secret of their social influence has been the ability to dislodge the emotions, the thoughts, and the actions of men from the conventional molds of their times and to set them in other forms more adequate to the pressures and tensions of contemporary life. They have been able to stimulate social trends because of their faculty for arousing dormant personal forces. In this way they have individually exercised a conditioning influence on all succeeding ages.

There is, however, a grave danger that attention should be distracted from the real issue by overemphasizing the spiritual significance of these individual performances. For, great as this may be, the significant thing is that it is never, of itself, adequate for the social need. The so-called Deuteronomic editor of the Book of Judges points this out again and again when he adds to his notice of the death of the outstanding theocrat of each period the words "the Israelites again did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord."⁶ This selfsame sentiment should stand, without exception, as the closing statement in the epitaph of every religious genius who has ever appeared in human society.

This can mean nothing else than that there is, and always has been, something fundamentally weak and inadequate in the social aspect of religion, that is to say, in the way in which the group to which such dynamic spiritual stimuli are imparted utilizes them. This, if it be true, implies that organized religion, as such, is prone to misconceive its function as the custodian of this spiritual capital in the social order.

⁶ Cf. Judg. 3:12 *et passim*.

It is believed that the following pages will present some justification for the suggestion, which may be offered in a general way at this point, that this misconception of function is one that leads to too much preoccupation of organized religion, in its official aspects at least, with the social process as a mere process. In other words, organized religion tends too readily to think of its function in terms of social control rather than in terms of social stimulation. It did this in Hebrew society when, in the late seventh century, it attempted through government to give social expression to the creative impulses set in motion by the great prophets of the preceding century.⁷ In like manner Christianity veered in the same direction when it became under Constantine the official cultus of an empire. Through this preoccupation with control religion is often diverted from the opportunity to condition the evolving process as constructively and effectively as it might, dropping the true substance of durable spiritual strength for the illusory shadow of fleeting temporal influence. Thus, when it should be educating the drives of desire that move, and should move, in all persons, it finds itself vainly trying to suppress or confine them within stereotyped and "revealed" ranges of value. When it should be stimulating and wisely guiding thought toward the construction of some ideological edifice that grows to ever nobler and more harmonious proportions, it finds itself playing the rôle of intellectual policeman, guarding the doors of a theological lockup. When it should be, with wisdom and dignity and patience, sponsoring experimen-

⁷ I.e., through the so-called "Deuteronomic Reform," which was carried out under King Josiah in 621 B.C.

tation in the field of ethics, it chooses either to stand between static patterns of conduct and the irresistible, but not intractable, tides of life or else to rant and tear its hair on the soap boxes of social doctrinaires and demagogues.

It is with no little confidence that one prescribes as good medicine for these perennial ailments of organized religion the study of the "New Past." After all, there is no doubt that understanding of how one has come to be what one is of material help toward becoming what one might and ought to be. Long, long ago things were felt and thought and done in the Mediterranean world which have helped to make Western society, and particularly the religious element of it, what it is today. Eternally valuable spiritual forces stirred in that world only to be recurrently captured and poured into fortuitous and inadequate molds. The historian who has a sense of social vocation will seek to cultivate in his audience that intelligent attentiveness to the past which makes it new because it relates it illuminatingly to the present. Within the limits prescribed for it this volume on the religious past is dedicated humbly and hopefully to the religious present and to the larger future of humanity.

CHAPTER I

"LAND OF PROMISE"

It is possible to recognize the conditioning hand of nature without paying homage to a mechanistic philosophy. Indeed, it is only by a realistic facing of the material factors which influence the human quest for satisfaction that there is developed that firm conviction of human worth which imperatively necessitates a spiritual view of the world. Every emergent present is, indeed, conditioned by a past. But that is not the whole story. The present is emergent, that is to say, vitally a part of a developmental process, because there is in it some element of novelty,¹ some manifestation of creative capacity, which has not been experienced in the past. The history of Israel's wrestling with the conditioning factors in its environment, social as well as natural, is replete with evidences of this creative capacity which, however, will only stand out in their full significance as those environmental factors which helped to evoke such a distinctive reaction are more fully explored.

To the earliest Hebrew clansmen who penetrated the territory that is today known as Palestine that region was pre-eminently a "Land of Promise." Deeply imbued with that naïvely optimistic acquisitiveness which characterizes all spiritually primitive peoples, they were not lacking in concrete expectations of what they might exact from

¹ Cf. G. H. Mead, *The Philosophy of the Present*, pp. 17 f.

their new environment. There is, however, no indication that they had the slightest inkling of what it might exact of them and their descendants. They could not know, as in the light of the history of subsequent centuries of travail it can now be known, that the region in which they were essaying to establish themselves had been so conditioned in its structure and location that the finger of promise which beckoned them was pointing to an achievement quite different from anything that was then present to their minds.

It is not necessary at this point to attempt a description of the long geological process through which the land of Palestine came to be geographically situated and superficially molded as it was when historical time began. An admirable description of that process has already been contributed by Professor A. T. Olmstead.² What is more important at this juncture is that attention should be drawn to certain effects of the hand of Nature on the configuration of those lands which lie around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. For these effects powerfully conditioned the evolution of the human society of that region in general, and more particularly in Palestine. Here again, practically everything that can be said in delineation of these physical features has already been said.³ Yet even

² *History of Palestine and Syria* (New York: Scribner's, 1931), pp. 1 ff.

³ Cf., e.g., J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York: Scribner's, 1931), pp. 3 ff.; C. C. McCown, *The Genesis of the Social Gospel* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1929), pp. 37 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, *passim*; E. C. Semple, *Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931); M. Newbigin, *Mediterranean Lands* (London: Christophers, 1928); J. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Tome I: *Géographie physique et historique* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1933); and other works too numerous to mention.

repetition may, in this case, be defended because an appreciation of these geographical factors is so immediately germane to the interpretation of the archaeological evidence which is to be later considered.

From the standpoint of the history of civilization the two most important results achieved by Nature in setting the Near Eastern stage are the valley of the Nile and the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. Together these two widely separated valleys provide the bulk of the really good land in the whole Near Eastern area. For the rivers which traverse their length create great acreages of level, silt-strewn fields as the annual loam-laden torrents from the mountains adjacent to their respective sources fill their channels to a generous overflowing. In addition to the prodigal fecundity of these areas, the presence of an easy means of communication throughout their length, in the great rivers which wind through them, made of them the only two regions in the entire Near East which are exactly suited to accommodate large masses of population in a settled existence. These, then, were the Near East's natural sociological laboratories. Here, before anywhere else in that part of the world, men were forced to make experiments in working out more complicated social structures than those primary social groupings which suffice in less productive and populous territories.

The conditions under which these experiments were carried on in the two great valleys were, however, far from being identical. This was both because the configuration of the valleys differed and because their geographical surroundings varied radically. Egypt was a long and narrow land completely protected on both its flanks by

great arid and all but untraversable wastes. Penetration could occur, after the formation of these wastes, only at the northern or southern extremities. In spite of the river, the shape of the country also made for that stubborn provincialism which sets great store by local autonomy. Penetration of Egypt by invaders was itself formidably difficult. But any rapid and radical influencing of its culture was little less than an impossibility. The Egyptian evolution, therefore, in spite of the advent at different periods of various invasive peoples, was made under circumstances favorable to the maintenance of greater cultural continuity and individuality. The past was there more tenacious in its hold on the present than in any other thickly populated area.

The great eastern valley was very differently situated. It lies along the eastern edge of that long stretch of foreland known to geologists as the "Arabian Slab." That slab had been all but broken off from Africa in the fairly recent geological past by a disturbance of the earth's crust which opened up the bed of what is now the Red Sea. Perhaps slightly earlier the seas, so to speak, had made another thrust at the land masses which opened up a path for the waters of what now are known as the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf. This latter encroachment, it is to be noted, was made at the western foot of a great highland barrier which winds up through Persia, Armenia, and Anatolia and, after a break at the Bosphorus, continues its peregrinations to culminate in the lofty peaks of the Alps. Throughout its length, which extends almost to the Mediterranean, the eastern valley is wedged tightly up against this barrier, which is usually referred to as the "Highland Zone."

As it nears the Mediterranean, and after its two great rivers have each found their sources in the foothills of the highlands to the north, the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates merges imperceptibly with the northern extremity of a strip of only relatively fertile land which follows the east coast of the Mediterranean almost to its southern end. These two areas of good land, the very fertile valley and the relatively fertile strip of coast land, together constitute, as it were, a productive border for the northern edge of the “Arabian Slab.” Within this fertile arc, and stretching far south of its eastern and western tips, lies the remainder of the great slab which is usually denoted when considered as a whole as the “Arabian Desert.” But, unlike the wastes that flank the Nile, this area is relatively hospitable to human occupation and actually contains a considerable, though widely scattered, acreage of richly fertile land. Since the line of demarcation between these only relatively desiccated areas and the fertile fringe which borders their northern reaches is not constituted by any naturally protective feature, these richer lands on the edges of the desert lie wide open on this inner side to penetration by the peoples of the desert.

But this is not all. The presence of the Highland Zone along the outer edge of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley has also exercised a powerful conditioning influence on the life of the peoples who have inhabited its alluvial plains. The inundating floods and seasonal rains which enriched the soil of the latter were, to a large extent, due to the proximity of these highlands. But their effects on racial and social evolution were even greater. From this point of view it is worth observing that the more rugged aspect of these heights is turned toward the lowlands to the

south. From these plains the heights are most difficult of penetration. Approach to them from Europe and Central Asia is much more open, though not without difficulty. Much of the area of the Highland Zone is comprised, moreover, of relatively fertile plateaus suitable for grazing and even for agriculture. Here, then, it became inevitable that peoples from the north should filter in, coalesce with indigenous stocks, and ultimately overflow onto the plains beneath. These thus became the scene of a long struggle between the peoples of the southern forelands and those of the mountains and the vast hinterlands to the north of them. The relative isolation enjoyed by Egypt was from earliest times denied to residents of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, who were constantly experiencing new racial and cultural infusions, on the whole with the usual invigorating effect.

That the human products of these two great social laboratories should ultimately become vitally interested in each other in an actively competitive manner could hardly be avoided. But there was one other feature of the determining work of Nature which made such a clash inevitable. This was the distribution of metal-bearing ores. A glance at a good modern map showing the distribution of metals in Europe and the Near East will suggest that neither of the great valley civilizations possessed any considerable resources of the then known metals within its own actual borders.⁴ In each case the natural deposits of these substances lay in adjacent areas. In the case of

⁴ Cf., e.g., O. Hausbrand *et al.*, *Weltlagerstättenkarte*, heraus. von der preussischen geologischen Landesanstalt (Berlin: D. Reimer [E. Vohsen], 1927).

Egypt, the peninsula of Sinai, the rugged regions between the Nile and the Red Sea, and northern Nubia constituted the nearest sources of supply. In the case of the great Tigris-Euphrates powers, the adjacent highlands, particularly to the north and west, Cyprus, and the islands of the Aegean were richest in these materials, to say nothing of the regions north of the Highland Zone. It should, however, be observed that the metal-bearing lands in the neighborhood of Egypt yielded a far smaller proportion of the metals then most useful for industry and war, that is, copper and iron, than did the metal-bearing lands adjacent to the Tigris-Euphrates. On the other hand, Egypt had command of much greater resources in what today would be known as fine metals, particularly gold.⁵

The distribution of these metals played a most important part in influencing the racial and political history of the entire Near East. Once metals began to be an important factor in civilized life, two notable results followed which seriously influenced the great valley civilizations. In the first place peoples from outside who were more advanced in metallurgy could and did penetrate the Near East with greater ease. Since these movements came chiefly from the north, the Tigris-Euphrates peoples were most immediately exposed to them and were compelled to take a really serious interest in the important sources and major movements of metals at an earlier date

⁵ Cf. W. Gowland, "Metals in Antiquity," *Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XLII (1912), 235 ff.; T. A. Rickard, *Man and Metals* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932), Vol. I; S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1928), chap. x; H. C. Richardson, "Iron, Prehistoric and Ancient," *AJA*, XXXVIII (1934), 555 ff.

than was the case with the Egyptians. The latter, however, were ultimately forced to devote as much, if not more, attention to this most important matter. In the second place, then, this interest in metals had something to do with the assumption of an aggressive attitude by the great valley powers, or, in other words, it is related to the full-fledged imperialism which later developed in them. The supplies of copper available for Egypt in nearby Sinai were mined with difficulty, and production is thought to have been only sporadic and on a relatively small scale. Egypt was obliged to look to the north for this metal, and her interest was turned in that direction even more after iron came into wider use. The great powers of the Tigris-Euphrates, which always stood in political jeopardy between the nomads of the desert and the hardy highland folk of the hills, were compelled at an early date to take an aggressive interest in all trade routes leading in and out of those ore-bearing highlands. Ultimately this interest was perforce extended to maritime, as well as to land-borne, commerce in metals. Thus it seems reasonable to infer that, while there were other influences involved, the natural distribution of metals in the Near Eastern region had much to do with bringing the civilizations of the two great valleys into directly competitive, and sometimes openly hostile, relationships with each other.

Attention must now be turned to that region which constitutes a long ribbon of only relatively fertile territory lying between the Mediterranean on the west and the desert on the east. Obviously this strip, on the southern end of which is Palestine, was cast by Nature to be the "No Man's Land" of the Near East.

The rôle which this area was called upon to play was not alone due to the fact that it constituted the one feasible land route between the two great valleys. This, in itself, would have been enough to make it the scene of conflict. There were, however, other elements both in its situation and its topography which also similarly affected the fate of its inhabitants. Its proximity to a much less fertile area, the desert, made it susceptible to the intrusions of virile peoples living in more primitive stages of culture. This is especially true of the transjordan regions, where were located the lands of such ancient settled peoples as the Moabites and the Ammonites, as well as of some Hebrew tribes. On the other hand, its situation on the sea, and between great producing populations, gave the peoples along its coasts a commercial opportunity which was developed to an amazing degree by the Phoenicians. The increasingly important part played by these centers of maritime commerce served to accentuate to the great valley powers the strategic value of the entire coastal corridor. It also stimulated the interest of peoples living in the lands beyond the seas, leading ultimately, for example, to the embroilment of the Greeks in the political rivalries of the peoples of the great valleys. Finally, it is to be noted that the northern end of this coastal corridor is directly overlooked by a most important segment of the Highland Zone. From these hills to the north there frequently came invasions in force, as well as more or less constant penetration by individuals and small groups.

Not only had Nature so placed the Syro-Palestinian corridor that it became a sort of interracial and international highway, but she had so molded its surface as to militate against the achievement of any considerable and

lasting social integration in that region. It could not boast, as could the great valleys, of any one dominating physical feature, such as their great rivers, which would make for unity. A glance at a contour map shows the corridor to be broken up almost throughout its entire length by highlands whose billowing shoulders have little room for any considerable stretches of territory within which communication is rapid and easy. Except the wayfarer keep close to the sea—and frequently very close to it—or else to the carefully picked and well-beaten paths of travel and transport, he must frequently negotiate hilly barriers which cut the country up into innumerable pockets, glens, and valleys. Only here and there—as along the broader reaches of the coastal plain south of Carmel, or where the central highlands sink to permit the plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel to break in from the sea and touch the Jordan, or where the well-watered and fertile stretches of Hollow Syria lie between twin mountain ranges, or where the Abana and the Pharpar create about Damascus a fecund oasis on the edge of a desert—does one find limited areas in which, however, only relatively large concentrations of people could take place.

In Palestine itself the one feature which might normally hold out promise of unity is the Jordan River, which traverses the length of the entire land. But here even the great river of the land succumbs to Nature's genius for divisiveness. It lies in a jagged, steadily dropping gorge or rift which, between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea into which it flows, drops about 700 feet to a depth of 1,300 feet below sea-level. At the Dead Sea one is standing on the lowest spot on the face of the earth on which

the sun shines. So deep and narrow is the gorge in which Palestine's chief river lies, and so rugged and precipitous are its rocky slopes, that the river seems to become an alien in the land which it cannot bless with fertility. As one stands on the heights, say on the Mount of Olives, and peers down into the great rift where far below the Jordan flows, one has the feeling of looking at a far-off country whose relationship to the immediate scene is little more than casual.

So it is throughout the length and breadth of the Syro-Palestinian corridor. Nature cast it for an in-between land, formed it to be fought over rather than lived in, until man should learn the way of peace. Possibly that has something to do with the fact that some of the finest visions of the dawn of the true age of reason have been penned within its borders.

It is, however, worth remarking that, no matter to what heights of social vision and spiritual exaltation the Hebrew seer might climb, he never lost that urge toward physical well-being which had impelled his remote ancestors to venture into the promised land. In the same breath in which he speaks of multitudes streaming to Zion to commune with God he mentions the vine and the fig tree which every citizen may call his own. The cruel implements of war he does not merely discard but transforms into plowshares and pruning-hooks for ministry to the physical needs of man.⁶

To those early Hebrew immigrants, some of whom at least entered this country after a period of peregrination on the margin of the desert, the new land must have

⁶ Mic. 4:1-4; cf. Isa. 2:2-4.

seemed indeed a "Land of Promise."⁷ Nor is there any evidence at all of a different viewpoint in the descendants of any of them until, by the fortunes of war, some have been exiled to the fertile plains of Babylonia.⁸ Looking back from that vantage point on the chequered story of the past, some realistic souls refused to wax enthusiastic over a project to return to a land which they felt had treated their fathers harshly.

This reaction was not without some justification, not merely in political circumstances, but also in the actual productive capacity of the land. By comparison with the lot of the denizens of the desert, Nature had bestowed upon the possessors of Palestine lavish provision. But by comparison with the fecundity of the great valleys, she had bestowed her gifts with a niggardly hand.

Certain areas of Palestine were and are most fertile, as, for example, the plain of Esdraelon and parts of the coastal lands like the plain of Sharon. Other districts, such as that in the neighborhood of Beersheba, depend upon a highly variable rainfall and are of uncertain productivity. Fortunately, accurate data is available for forming an estimate of the productivity of Palestine at the present time. The Director of Surveys has estimated⁹ that the

⁷ The pre-Palestinian history of the various groups whose descendants later constituted the tribes of Israel has been complicated by such recently discovered evidence as the mention of Asher and Zebulun in the Ras Shamra inscriptions. It is no longer possible to think of a confederacy of twelve tribes coming into Palestine fresh from the desert.

⁸ Cf. Ezek. 36:13.

⁹ J. Hope Simpson, *Palestine, Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1930), pp. 69 ff., and Appendix 3, p. 159.

total cultivable area of the country is a little over 3,000 square miles.¹⁰ Included in this area are all lands suitable for fig and olive orchards, for vine culture, and for dairying, as well as those on which grains may be profitably grown. It is estimated that about two-thirds of the highland area of the country is inhabited, although only 40 per cent of this inhabited hill country is reckoned as cultivable. There are, of course, desert sections, such as that lying along the eastern edge of the Judean highland or in the rugged hills to the south of Judah. It should also be remembered that the estimate of the Director of Surveys is made on the basis of modern agricultural facilities, which were unknown to the inhabitants of Palestine in ancient times. Yet, even with the help of these, and allowing for the unusual richness of some soils such as the plain of Esdraelon, Palestine, so far as agricultural productivity is concerned, is at present only relatively speaking a "Land of Promise." Whether or not its natural fertility was appreciably greater in Old Testament times is still a subject of controversy among climatologists. One school, of which Professor Ellsworth Huntington is the outstanding exponent, believes that considerable desiccation has occurred since those days.¹¹ Another school, of which the late Professor J. W. Gregory was a prominent spokesman, holds that no appreciable change has, in this

¹⁰ His estimate is given as 8,044,000 dunams. A dunam, which is the Turkish acre, is equal to an area 100 feet square.

¹¹ Cf. E. Huntington, *Palestine and Its Transformation* (New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1921) and other works. See also C. E. P. Brooks, *Climate Through the Ages* (London: E. Benn, 1926); *Climate* (New York: Scribner's, 1930).

respect, taken place.¹² As between these judgments the balance seems at present to be inclining to the views of Huntington.¹³ Yet, even allowing for more natural fertility in ancient Palestine, the country which seemed like a garden of dreams to the lean and hard Hebrew invaders from less favored regions was by no means a soft and easy land.

So far as metals are concerned, Palestine's resources are also relatively meager. Recent discoveries have disclosed the existence of a fairly rich field of copper in the Arabah, south of the Dead Sea. Prior to 1100 B.C., however, this resource was not extensively exploited, although there is one ancient mining site which may have been worked even before 2000 B.C. The period of most intense activity in this field was between 1100 and 800 B.C.; but, as it lies in debatable territory, it is not yet possible to pass final judgment on the influence this resource may have exercised upon the economic life of the Hebrews.¹⁴

When all these facts about Palestine itself are considered, they throw into very sharp relief the magnitude of the adventure upon which the early Hebrews so nonchalantly embarked when they entered their "Land of Promise." They emphasize the paucity of the resources Nature had placed at their disposal wherewith to meet the pressures which were inevitably to be imposed upon them by the powerful and wealthy societies of the great valleys.

¹² J. W. Gregory, "Is the Earth Drying Up?" *Geographical Journal*, XLIII (1914), 148 ff.

¹³ Cf. G. Taylor, *Environment and Race* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1927), pp. 173 f., 201 ff., *et passim*.

¹⁴ Cf. N. Glueck, *ILN*, July 7, 1934, pp. 26, 36; *BASOR*, No. 55 (1934), pp. 3 ff. See also pp. 191 ff.

If the matter is looked at only from this materialistic angle, one may say that, on this score too, Nature was unkind. But that would be a most inadequate judgment. For, indeed, this land held out a much higher promise and was placed and dowered by Nature in a way well calculated to stimulate the struggle to realize it. True, that higher conception of the promise was not even glimpsed till long after the Hebrew settlement and early rise to political power. And the full vision of it came not until this people had experienced, in tears and bitterness, the discipline which was inevitably theirs because it was naturally inherent in the situation and formation of their land. But in the light of that higher cultural vocation it is possible to see that Nature was far from unkind when she gave them enough to suffice their needs in a moral society integrated in a moral world-order, but not enough to suffice their needs under any lesser plan of life. The "Land of Promise" was exactly the kind of land where there could be conceived and worked permanently, even though imperfectly, into the social fabric, a promise which would some day become dear both to those "far off" and to those "near."

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF CULTURE

In the human evolution the dawn of culture precedes the dawn of conscience. The emergence of the latter in the individual cannot, in the nature of the case, occur until there has been evolved by his group a philosophy of life which is expressed through a generally accepted ethic. It is naturally impossible for the individual to experience any sense of the rightness or wrongness of his conduct except in relation to a standard which either enjoys the sanction of society or which he, as a member thereof, believes should enjoy it. The norm which stimulates what is popularly known as "an attack of conscience" is always, then, either actually or potentially a socially sanctioned norm. It is the failure to recognize this which leads many into the common error of thinking of conscience as a purely personal matter. The standard which stimulates the conscience of an individual may, indeed, differ so radically from that generally accepted in his group as to seem, to his experience, to be his own personal formulation. But this is never actually the case. The individual does not derive this norm only from or through his isolated self. His social self—that is to say, his self considered as part of a greater whole—is always the medium from or through which it rises. The sense of what the philosopher calls "sociality" precedes, in the human evolution, what the religious man knows as the sense of sin.¹

¹ Cf. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 16 *et passim.*; and G. H. Mead, *The Philosophy of the Present*, pp. xxxii f. *et passim.*

The real task of religion is, then, the cultivation of this sense of sociality and not, as is often thought, the flagellation of conscience. The latter, at best, is never more than a means to the greater end of relating man to the universe, of building up more and more adequate and socially authoritative attitudes to life. If this go unremembered, the appeal to conscience may even, at the worst, become an obstacle to the enlargement of the personality. Historically speaking, it has been its devotion to the cultivation of the sense of sociality which entitles religion to be regarded as the mother of culture. As such its objective is order—not merely any kind of order, but order in which there inheres the fullest possible satisfaction for all the parts of the cosmic whole. Religion is, then, a name for man's attentive endeavor in living, as distinct from any negligent mode of existence which is no more than a drifting hither and yon on the capricious surface currents of circumstance. It is, in the fullest sense of the term, a quest for goodness; and, as a contemporary novelist has pointed out in striking fashion,² the "awkward age" of goodness is long. Yet, one should not allow one's self, by overmuch attention to the crudities of its moods and modes, to be precluded from the realization that, throughout the ages, religion has been endeavoring to turn the attention of human beings to the great whole of which they are a part to the end that life might grow ever more meaningful and satisfying.

Culture begins to dawn, then, when there appears in man the first sign of that interest in his individual relationship to the totality of things which it is the religious

² Cf. Thornton Wilder, *Heaven's My Destination* (New York: Harper's, 1935).

function to nourish and bring to birth as a meaningful way of life. How early this interest may have stirred in man it is possible only to speculate. He may have experienced it before he had learned to talk; and it is quite possible that he attained this latter capacity several hundreds of thousands of years ago. Some of the anthropologists who have examined the jaw of a very ancient species of man found near Heidelberg in Germany believe that it is quite possible that its original possessor enjoyed some power of speech.³

Interesting as it may be, however, to canvass such a speculative possibility, it is much more to the point here to inquire at how early an age there appeared in Palestine beings who may be dignified as human and who may be believed, on an evidential basis, to have evinced even a spark of interest in their individual relationship to some continuing order of things. To reach a tentative conclusion on this point and to trace the waxing of this interest toward the evolution of a true culture is the aim of this chapter.

It is only in very recent years that prehistoric research in the Near East has disclosed the amazing antiquity of man in that general region.⁴ Recent discoveries in Palestine tend to indicate that that particular area may have known the predecessors of modern man as early as any other part of the Near East. The prehistory of Palestine

³ E.g., Sir Arthur Keith, *The Antiquity of Man* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1920), p. 244.

⁴ Cf. K. S. Sanford and W. J. Arkell, *Prehistoric Survey of Egypt and Western Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), *OIP*, Vols. X (1929), XVII (1933), XVIII (1934), and other works. *OIP*, Vol. XVIII is by Sanford alone.

is now a subject of fascinating interest with a rapidly growing literature. The present writers are directly indebted in the preparation of this chapter to the excellent study of M. René Neuville,⁵ whose organization of the prehistoric ages has here been followed.

In Palestinian prehistory the period prior to 20,000 B.C. is known as the Lower Palaeolithic or Early Old Stone Age. It synchronizes approximately with the successive periods of glaciation which occurred in lands lying in the temperate zone. During this age the climate of Palestine was, for long periods, alternately very rainy and inclement and relatively dry and salubrious. It was during this age that pre-Modern Man roamed the hills and vales of what was later to become known as the Holy Land.

It is not possible to reconstruct in any detail the religious aspects of the life of Early Old Stone Age man in Palestine. In the primitive stages of the human evolution religion expresses itself largely through the ordinary activities of everyday life. Since the men of that age have left little evidence of their mode of existence, apart from their flint implements and the caves which they occupied, it is quite impossible to judge to what an extent the religious instinct had succeeded in molding their conduct into anything approaching a pattern. Up to the present, evidence is available on only one detail of their conduct which may have bearing on this question, namely, the manner of the burial of the dead.

Remains of fossil man of the Early Old Stone Age have,

⁵ "Le préhistorique de Palestine," *RB*, XLIII (1934), 237 ff.; cf. also Miss D. A. E. Garrod, "The Stone Age of Palestine," *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), 133 ff.

at the moment of writing, been recovered from three sites in Palestine. One of these is located in the Wady el-Mughara (Valley of Caves) (see Fig. 1). Walled with high cliffs, this valley cuts into the Carmel spur just south of the latitude of the seaport of Haifa. Here, in 1932, before a cave locally known as Mugharet es-School (Cave of the Kids), was found an interment of eight skeletons. It may

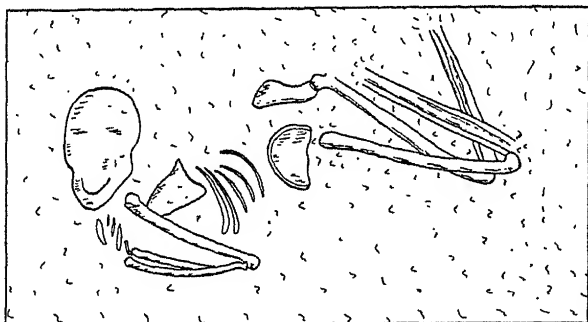


FIG. 1.—*Palaeanthropus Palestinus*. (After *Bulletin of the American School of Prehistoric Research*, Vol. IX, Pl. I.)

be of some importance that one of these, which was found in a fragmentary condition, was that of a child of from two to three years of age. The remaining seven, the skeletons of adults, were almost completely preserved.⁶

These remains have been classified by Sir Arthur Keith as belonging to a variety of *Homo Neandertalensis*.⁷ They appear to represent a late phase of the development of Neandertal Man prior to the appearance of Modern

⁶ D. A. E. Garrod, "Excavations in the Wady el-Mughara," *PEFQS*, LXIV (1932), 50 f.

⁷ On the authority of a letter from Dr. George Grant MacCurdy, director of the American School of Prehistoric Research.

Man. Varying estimates locate their particular span of life from 30,000 to 100,000 years ago. This, of course, makes them newcomers in the sequence of human species, since remains of men found in Java and China throw the prehistory of mankind back a million years or more. Being, at the moment of their discovery, the earliest complete skeletons of humankind found in Palestine, they are now graced with the scientific name *Palaeanthropus Palestinus*.⁸ Another almost complete skeleton of a woman of the same general type, though chinless and of less cranial capacity, was later found before a near-by cave known as Mugharet et-Tabun.⁹

An adumbration of these discoveries had occurred in 1925 when F. Turville-Petre recovered at Wady Amud, a valley just west of the Sea of Galilee, a fragment of a human skull probably belonging to this same period.¹⁰ Though later discovered to be part of the skeleton of a female, it was popularly labeled "The Galilee Man," which designation is now established.¹¹

More recently excavations have been carried on by M. René Neuville at a cave near Nazareth. The details of his results are not yet available. It is known, however, that

⁸ T. D. McCown, "Fossil Men of the Mugharet es-Sukhul near Athlit, Palestine, Season of 1932," *Bulletin of the American School of Prehistoric Research*, IX (1933), 9 ff.

⁹ D. A. E. Garrod, "Excavations at the Wady el-Mughara, 1932-3," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 86. See also *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), 144.

¹⁰ From the standpoint of the type of stone implement occurring with these burials, this period is classified as "Mousterian," a term borrowed from European prehistory.

¹¹ Turville-Petre *et al.*, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee* (London: Council of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1927).

four human skeletons have been recovered which, because of the occurrence with them of implements of the type known as Levalloisian,¹² probably antedated *Palaeanthropus Palestinus* by many thousands of years.¹³ Indeed, Professor Albright has very recently interpreted the data reported by M. Neuville as meaning that this new type of fossil man may well be as old as a very ancient type discovered a few years ago in China and known to the academic world as *Sinanthropus*.¹⁴

Since the remains of "The Galilee Man" are so fragmentary as to be of little use for the purpose here in view, and since the details of Neuville's discovery are not available, attention must be directed to the Neandertal skeletons recovered near Mount Carmel by Miss Garrod, Mr. McCown, and their associates. There is no doubt that *Palaeanthropus Palestinus* possessed the power of speech. This, however, does not obviate the fact that, by all modern standards, he was an ugly creature. He did not walk fully erect, but with a slightly crouching posture. His projecting supra-orbital ridges, massive jaw, and protruding chin gave a decidedly repulsive cast to his features. Enough may be deduced about the general characteristics of his mode of living to indicate that it was as crude and unbeautiful as his countenance. He lived just outside the entrance to his cave, the recesses of which were possibly

¹² A term also borrowed from European prehistory.

¹³ W. F. Albright, "News from the School in Jerusalem," *BASOR*, No. LVI (1934), p. 32.

¹⁴ See W. F. Albright, "A Summary of Archaeological Research during 1934 in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria," *AJA*, XXXIX (1935), 137; and cf. *AJSL*, LI (1934), 202, under "Nazareth." The site, however, is actually that known today as Jebel Qafze.

used as a storehouse. In all probability, therefore, the climate of Palestine in his times was clement, so that he needed only occasionally to use the cave as a shelter. His preference for the entrance to the cave also suggests relative security from formidable enemies of his own and other species. One may conjecture that he occupied himself with searching for edible fruits and roots, with hunting for such limited game as his inadequate weapons enabled him to subdue, and with the chipping of these and the other simple flint instruments which served his modest needs. He had domesticated no animals, was oblivious of even the rudiments of agriculture, and was completely unacquainted with metals and their uses. Since he had invented no weapons capable of killing at a distance, his way of making a living was hazardous and his tenure of life, even under the favorable climatic conditions which probably prevailed, brief and most uncertain.

It is, however, permissible to suggest that the very brevity and uncertainty of the hold on life enjoyed by men of this age and type possibly had much to do with stimulating them to a reaction with which the dawn of culture now seems to begin. The significance of the facts which suggest such a possibility to students of prehistoric life does not readily appear if they are isolated from their context in succeeding ages. At least with *Palaeanthropus Palestinus*, if not earlier, there begins what might be described as an age of primitive anthropocentricity in which man becomes interested in his own fate and so moves ultimately toward some consideration of the enviroing forces which impose upon him his desperate struggle for life. Even after pre-Modern Man, as a type, disappears,

this interest continues and waxes more influential in the life of his successors. For want of a better term, the slowly emerging cultus which springs from it is often, perhaps rather misleadingly, referred to as the "Cult of the Dead." Only as one follows the later evolution of this aspect of the customs of primitive ages in Palestine does one fully grasp the import of such interments as those discovered in the Wady el-Mughara.

Palaeanthropus Palestinus did not casually leave the bodies of his dead to any chance method of dissolution, as is the wont of animals. Already he had passed beyond the stage where the individual human organism was of no importance and, stimulated by his daily fight with Death, had begun to think of himself in relation to some continuing order of things. In what was then the soft dirt before the entrance to his cave he accorded the dead orderly and considered burial.

When the skeletons exhumed on the Wady el-Mughara finally saw the light of day, this soft dirt had become the kind of rock known as breccia. So carefully were the remains freed from this that it was at once evident that care had been bestowed upon their interment with the object of preserving the bodies intact. These had been flexed with the knees drawn up toward the upper torso in the possibly significant "embryonic" position. It is worth noting, too, that these dead had been interred beneath the spot where their surviving kinsfolk, day by day and night by night, warmed themselves by their fires and slept. It may be too much to say that this was done in order that they might go on sharing to some extent in the comforts of the hearth. Yet it is reasonable, in the light of later

mortuary ideas and customs, to infer that, in the thinking of those who survived them, death had not altogether cut them off from life. At any rate, it seems probable that these dead were not looked upon as "unclean" or that the influences they might bring to bear upon the living were feared. In some sense, impossible now to determine precisely, they were still held within the circle of the fellowship of the surviving group.¹⁵

It is, of course, true that one can now do no more than speculate upon how this primal experience known as death first came to be rationalized through some sort of an idea of persistence. It has been suggested that the concept of post-mortem life may have originated through dreams. In these, primitive man saw another than himself, who yet was himself, moving about while his own limbs were bound in slumber. But however the concept may have arisen, it seems reasonable to suppose that such a rationalization of death was forced upon man by the severe exigencies of his struggle for existence. Self-preservation became the first law of his way, and his very preoccupation with it may have stimulated his earliest thoughts about his position within an environment which imposed such a hard struggle upon him. Thus may have occurred his initial advance toward the conception of a pattern of life shaped with reference to the totality of things. Only when, long ages later, the first tentative pattern was worked out and socially sanctioned could what is known as conscience become a part of his personal

¹⁵ If the young child to whom reference has previously been made (p. 20) was accorded the same sort of considered interment, that, as will shortly appear, may be a fact of some importance.

experience. There is, then, ground for the belief that as long as this anthropocentric "Cult of the Dead" remained the only social expression of the religious instinct in Palestine, conscience played little or no part in human experience. Hope had to take deep root in the human heart before man could rise to faith and love. Love is "the greatest of these," but hope is the first. It is that which ushers in the dawn of culture.

Between 20,000 and approximately 12,000 B.C. is placed the Upper Palaeolithic or Late Old Stone Age of Palestine. In this age the pre-modern human types were replaced by Modern Man whose latest descendants, surely not without a trifle of complacency, now accord him the learned characterization of *Homo sapiens*. The cruder predecessors of this more advanced human species were either pushed outward to the margins of human habitation or else were overrun and finally, as a distinct type, submerged.

In this age the material remains indicate a much more complex way of living in Palestine; yet, there is little that can now be said, apart from speculation, concerning the religious aspects of life in this time. One of the striking features of the period which may be deduced from the material remains is the rapid progress scored by man in ministering to his own comfort and security. His attentiveness is witnessed, in this aspect of life, by the appearance, for example, of bone punches. These were in all probability used to fasten together the materials, possibly the skins of animals, of which the clothing he now wore was fabricated. The earliest modern men in Palestine also had a more varied diet than their Neandertal predeces-

sors. Though unacquainted with even the rudimentary agricultural processes, they were moving toward that way of making a living, for they had learned the nutritive value of the wild grains which grew in their district and had contrived small stone grinders to render them more edible. They lived within, rather than at, the entrance to their caves. This may have been wholly due to climatic change; but it is also quite possible that increasing desire for, and control over, natural resources had stimulated conflict between groups and made the cave desirable as a hiding-place or even as a defensible stronghold.¹⁶

The inability to draw many definite conclusions concerning the functioning of the religious instinct in this age is due largely to the present lack of satisfactory skeletal remains. At the moment of writing, no completely preserved skeletons of this time have been found in Palestine. The broken condition of some human bones from this period recovered from a cave in Syria has led to the suggestion that some Late Old Stone Age men of this general region practiced cannibalism. The evidence on this point, however, is insufficient to warrant a discussion of the possible significance of such a circumstance for the evolution of culture.¹⁷ In the absence of clear evidence to the contrary it is, for the present, unwarrantable to assume that the hope of life after death which appears in the previous age and which reappears in much more developed form in the following age was unknown to Late Old Stone Age man in Palestine. As a matter of fact, the progress made

¹⁶ Cf. R. Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 249; and G. Zumoffen, *La Phénicie avant les Phéniciens* (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1900), pp. 67 ff.

by the latter in caring for himself speaks rather for the prevalence of the man-centered outlook on life which was a feature of that incipient, mortuary cultus.

The Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age began, in Palestine, at about 12,000 B.C. At some time during the fifth millennium B.C., or, in other words, at approximately the date traditionally accepted—thanks to the mathematical exactitude of Archbishop Ussher—as the date of Creation, the Middle Stone Age here gave place to the succession of Metal Ages. In Palestine, therefore, a Neolithic or New Stone Age did not according to available evidence occur.^{17a}

The human artifacts of the Middle Stone Age are of a type which is usually characterized as "Natufian" because such implements were first discovered in a cave known as Mugharet es-Shukba in the Wady en-Natuf in western Judea.¹⁸ The Natufian contribution is, however, here discussed on the basis of the much more satisfactory evidence recovered from the Wady el-Mughara area.¹⁹

There can be little doubt that the advent of the bearers of these artifacts into Palestine marked a transition in the way of living which could hardly have been achieved except at the cost of conflict. This is rendered all but certain by the fact that they were invaders. Neuville judges them to have had traits in common with the negroids of the Aurignacian period in Europe, and, to a lesser degree,

^{17a} A qualification of this statement may be necessary on the basis of data not available to the authors when this MS went to press. See J. Garstang, "L'art neolithique à Jericho," *Syria*, XVI (1935), 353 ff.

¹⁸ D. A. E. Garrod, "Excavations in the Wady el-Mughara, 1931," *PEFQS*, LXIV (1932), 46 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; cf. also D. A. E. Garrod, "Excavations at the Mugharet el-Wad, 1930," *ibid.*, LXIII (1931), 99 ff.

with the Capsians of North Africa and the pre-dynastic Egyptians.²⁰ Whatever their antecedents, it was they who brought about in Palestine the transition from a mode of life based largely on hunting to one whose economic foundations rested on agriculture. Whatever may have been the case elsewhere, in Palestine the agriculturist preceded the true nomad who lives on his flocks and herds. Clear evidence that agriculture had become a prominent industry in this region during the Middle Stone Age is derived from the Natufian levels of the caves of the Wady el-Mughara. Many flint sickle blades, as well as the bone hafts into which they were fitted, have been recovered.

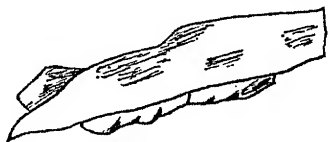


FIG. 2.—Middle Stone Age sickle from Wady el-Mughara. (After *PEFQS*, Vol. LXIII, Pl. III.)

In some cases, indeed, the flint blade has been found still fixed in its bone haft (see Fig. 2).²¹

The place and period of the origin of agriculture are, of course, still unsettled questions. The fact that it is known that wheat grew in a wild state in Syria has, however, led to the suggestion that the region along the east coast of the Mediterranean was the cradle of this most basic of all human industries.²² If such should prove to be the case, the credit for this advance would probably go to these Middle Stone Age men who introduced the Natufian type of implements. In any case, it was the development of

²⁰ R. Neuville, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

²¹ See *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 102, Pl. III.

²² A. Aaronsohn, *Agricultural and Botanical Explorations in Palestine* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910).

the agricultural technique by them which brought about the mode of living in settled communities and ultimately led to the evolution of the city.²³

The conditions prevailing in the natural environment during this Natufian era were probably such as to stimulate this advance in the mode of making a living. The animal remains of the period indicate the increase of the genus *Gazella*. This very probably points toward relative deforestation and the depletion of the numbers of carnivores who prey on such defenseless animals.²⁴ The deforestation on the high lands would lead to soil erosion there and to the corresponding enrichment of valleys and plains. Concentration of the population in the lowlands might thus stimulate greater attention to wild cereals, which would help sustain life.

Hunting, of course, continued to be an important occupation while the rise of agriculture was occurring, and the instruments of this craft were greatly perfected. The first arrow heads to appear in Palestine are Natufian. Possibly, then, it was the speed of the gazelles, which comprised the major portion of the huntsman's bag, that forced man to devise an instrument for striking his quarry from a distance. The effectiveness of this weapon in the chase would suggest its use against human foes as men began to fight for the surplus stores of goods which agriculture enabled them to produce. Fishing also became an

²³ Cf. D. A. E. Garrod, *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 103; E. C. Curwen, "Agriculture and the Flint Sickle in Palestine," *Antiquity*, IX, (1935), 62 ff.; R. Neuville, "Les debuts d'agriculture et la faucille prehistorique en Palestine," *Extrait du recueil de la Societ  Hebra que d'Exploration et d'Archeologie Palestiniennes* (Jerusalem, 1934).

²⁴ R. Neuville, *RB*, XLIII (1934), 250; D. A. E. Garrod, *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), 142.

important means of subsistence. Bone harpoons were invented and used with increasing skill against the finny prey in the full wadies. By comparison with the preceding ages, life in Palestine in the Middle Stone Age was quite complex, and one may be pardoned for wishing that the data available for the reconstruction of its religious aspects were more definite than they are.

Two features of the period, however, shed some light on the psychological side of its life. One is the advance in artistic instincts and skills. The other is a possible elaboration of mortuary customs into what may be at least tentatively regarded as quite a developed version of the "Cult of the Dead." The artistic advance is manifested in certain articles of personal adornment which, since they were found on skeletons, it will be more convenient to characterize in connection with mortuary customs.²⁵ Aside from these there have been recovered a beautiful and very realistic carving of a gazelle in limestone, the head of a deer and the head of a human both carved in bone, and some drawings on the walls of the cave Umm Qatafa located on the Wady Khareitun in the Judean desert.²⁶ These latter are believed to have been done in the Early or Lower Natufian era, a period regarded as contemporary with the Magdalenian cultural period in France and Spain which yielded the famous cave painting known as "The Bison of Altamira."²⁷ Two elephants, a hippopotamus, a wild boar, a one-horned rhinoceros, and other less surely

²⁵ D. A. E. Garrod, *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), 136; R. Neuville, *RB*, XLIII (1934), 1.

²⁶ R. Neuville, "A Frieze of Beasts Made 12000 B.C.," *ILN*, November 5, 1932, pp. 729-31.

²⁷ Cf. H. F. Osborne, *Men of the Old Stone Age* (3d ed.; New York: Scribners, 1928), pp. 422 ff.

identified beasts are depicted on the walls of this Judean cave. When possible, the artists have taken advantage of the natural lines of the rock. Elsewhere the outlines are deeply graved and black paint has been used to set forth some of the figures. These drawings suggest characteristic postures of their subjects with convincing realism even though they are, on the whole, much more crudely done than the contemporary cave drawings of Europe.

It is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not these examples of Natufian art have any underlying religious motivation. In view of the always close affinity between art and religion, and from all that is known of the psychology of primitive peoples, there is, however, a distinct possibility that this art was a feature of the emerging cultus of the Middle Stone Age. Very possibly the images thus reproduced were believed to have the usual virtues of charms and amulets for the gaining of sustenance and security. This view of the matter would not necessarily be nullified by the elaboration of mortuary customs which marks the Middle Stone Age. There is good reason to infer that the "Cult of the Dead" was motivated by a desire to benefit the living. It was no more otherworldly than are many modern systems which cultivate the hope of a life to come. Like them it probably did not entirely distract man's attention from the values of this present life by causing him to think of death as no more than a crucial point in a cycle of life.

This interpretation of Natufian man's view of death seems to gain support from the manner in which he interred his dead, which indicates that he thought of them as living much the same life beyond the grave as they had lived prior to passing through its grim portals. As was the

case in the Early Old Stone Age, the Natufian skeletons are interred in the flexed embryonic position. There is at least a possibility that this position itself symbolizes the idea of the rebirth of the dead, in which case there is incipient here a concept which was later developed more fully in the cult of Mother Earth. In this connection one recalls with great interest, especially in view of the tenacity of religious ideas and customs, the words of Isa. 26: 19:

But thy dead will live, their bodies will rise,
Those who dwell in the dust will awake, and will sing for joy;
For thy dew is a dew of light,
And the earth will bring the shades to birth.²⁸

Such a view of the significance of the position of interment is strengthened somewhat by the fact that articles of personal adornment are found upon the skeletons of this period. Some of those exhumed in the Wady Mu-ghara were adorned with bone beads or pendants. One adult had been buried with a cap of dentalia, a necklace of bone pendants, and with a garter of dentalia around one leg.

One burial of a young child is of special interest, particularly in the light of the Early Old Stone Age burial of the three-year-old child to which reference has been made.²⁹ This Natufian child was buried with a cap of bone beads or pendants made of the toe bones of a gazelle or of a goat. Though there may be some doubt whether the Early Old Stone Age interment of a child was an orderly and considered burial, there can be no such doubt in the case of this Natufian child. It was certainly expected to enter into the life beyond the grave. Such a circumstance becomes remarkable when it is observed that

²⁸ American translation.

²⁹ Cf. p. 20 and p. 25, n. 15.

in later times, with the possible exception of one period to which attention will in due course be drawn, very little care seems to have been exercised in the burial of infants and young children.³⁰

In connection with at least one, if not all, of three burials in the vicinity of the Wady el-Mughara there has

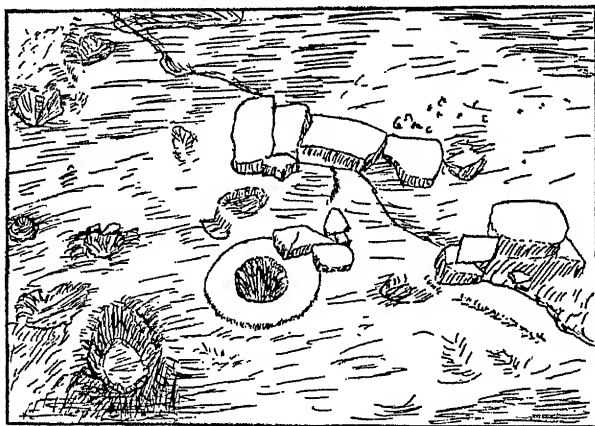


FIG. 3.—Middle Stone Age construction with cup-marks at Wady el-Mughara. (After *PEFQS*, Vol. LXIII, Pl. II.)

been discovered a construction which may possibly suggest the rise of a ritual of interment in the Middle Stone Age in Palestine (see Fig. 3). This view of the matter is at present, however, of no more than conjectural force, and in any case the evidence does not suffice for an attempt to reconstruct this hypothetical ritual. In this case the rock surface contiguous to the graves had been leveled to form a flat platform. In the middle of this was a rimmed cup-mark, a hole made in the rock. It is possible that libations were poured into this. There were also three smaller cup-

³⁰ Cf. *PEFQS*, LXIV (1932), 48 ff.

marks near by. The side of the platform lying to the north of the larger cup-mark or basin had been bordered with a few squared blocks of limestone which acted as a curb. Outside of this curb ran a narrow trough at the lower end of which the nearest burial was located. The relation of cup-marks to the "Cult of the Dead" will later be discussed in more detail. Some such holes made in rock may have been used as sockets. But in this instance the larger hole was not worked as if intended for any such purpose, a circumstance which renders more plausible the conjecture that it was for the receiving of a libation, or at least that its function was in some way ceremonial rather than structural.³¹ At the present moment no further evidence exists which bears upon the question of the ritual of the "Cult of the Dead" in the Middle Stone Age. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that it is as yet quite precarious to accept the interpretation here suggested. Nevertheless, as will shortly appear, there are features of the cultic remains of later ages which yield some general support to the idea that the process of ritualization may have begun to develop in this era.

The occurrence of broken and calcined human bones and partial burials in the Lower Natufian levels of some sites has led respectively to the conjectures that the earlier bearers of this material culture practiced cannibalism³² and cremation.³³ Either or both of these interpretations imply the possibility of the existence at the

³¹ *Ibid.*, LXVIII (1931), 99 ff.

³² The suggestion of Sir Arthur Keith, according to a résumé of a paper entitled "The Late Paleolithic Inhabitants of Palestine" read before the Prehistoric Congress at London in 1932 and cited by Neuville, *RB*, XLIII (1934), 254.

³³ R. Neuville, *ibid.*

time of sharply conflicting attitudes to the human person and its post-mortem fate. When one recalls the fact that there has not yet been discovered any material evidence that the men of the Late Old Stone Age in Palestine did cherish the hope of a future life in any form, it becomes a possibility that the advent of the Natufians entailed a conflict of ideas as well as of techniques. The prominence of the mortuary cult in the Early Old Stone Age, the present lack of material evidence for its existence in the Late Old Stone Age, and the clear indications of its presence in a more advanced form in the Middle Stone Age are facts capable of the different interpretations which have here been considered.³⁴ But, however the verdict may lie on that question, the revival or growth of interest in the mortuary cult in the Middle Stone Age is worth remarking. It seems at first unlikely that men like these Natufians who had scored such a technological advance as the acquirement of the rudiments of agriculture should develop such an interest in the "Cult of the Dead." Strange as it may seem, the increased aptitude at making a living apparently did not result in making life less precarious or death less impressive. The experience of the latter continued to exercise a powerful influence on the thinking of this age and to stimulate the will to triumph over it. On the whole, there is much to be said for the view that the technological advance scored by the Natufians possibly led to social conflict for the possession of the productive lands and their produce; and that the resurgence of the "Cult of the Dead" may, perhaps, have to be accounted for in some such way.

About the turn of the fourth millennium prior to the

³⁴ See above, p. 27.

Christian Era, copper first made its appearance in Palestine as the material of human artifacts. The persistence of the older stone implements alongside of those fabricated of this new material has led to the designation of this period of technological transition either as the Chalcolithic or the Aeneolithic or the Copper-Stone Age.

In this age an even greater advance in the techniques of making a living was attained than had been the case in the quite progressive Middle Stone Age. The discovery of copper and the acquiring of skill in working this metal, as well as the contemporary discovery and development of the art of making pottery, wrought a change in the life of Palestine comparable in importance to the effects of the industrial revolution on modern society. The greater technological proficiency of this age stimulated other transitions in the mode of living and making a living. It was in the Copper-Stone Age that the men of Palestine began to abandon their cave homes and to construct houses which were grouped together in villages, their occupants going forth by day to till the soil round about this social center. The fabrication of pottery from clay baked in rude open ovens facilitated the development of this more sedentary mode of life and the older vessels of stone, skin, and wood were largely outmoded. It is believed, too, that it was in this period that the domestication of animals began in Palestine, thus increasing control of the means of subsistence and making possible the pursuit of the true nomadic mode of existence in this region.

But relatively great as was the cultural advance in Palestine during the Copper-Stone Age, the peoples of this region were lagging far behind their neighbors in the great valleys of the Nile and of the Tigris-Euphrates.

These were already gathering their young energies for the building-up of higher and more complex cultures than the world had ever seen and were reaching out for the products of other lands than their own. It was in this period that merchants from these great valleys began to pass through Palestine and to establish international trade routes which were to play an important part in the economic and political aspects of the life of this region. Traces of the influence of these trade caravans can be seen

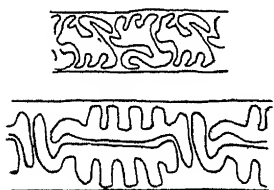


FIG. 4.—Mesopotamian cylinder-seal impressions from Megiddo. (After *PEFQS*, Vol. LXVI, Pl. VI, Figs. 1 and 2.)

in the use of pottery stands which extends itself, in this age, from Mesopotamia, through Syria-Palestine, to Egypt. Before the end of the Copper-Stone Age, merchants from the same area had introduced, at least at Megiddo and Jericho, the use of cylinder seals for marking pottery vessels and establishing their ownership (see Fig. 4). These seals were inscribed with the figures of animals in the manner typical of Mesopotamia about the end of the fourth millennium B.C.

The cultural lag in Palestine in this period becomes very striking when its art and religion are compared with those of contemporary Egypt and Mesopotamia. From Megiddo come certain examples of crude attempts by native artists to scratch drawings on pottery or potsherds (see Fig. 5). Probably from the same general period are derived the crudely executed outlines of animals scratched on rock surfaces by artists of Jebel Tubaiq in southeast-

ern Transjordan. Compared with the contemporary art in the great valleys, these examples of Palestinian art illustrate in a startling manner the cultural inferiority of the latter region. The most one can say is that there was

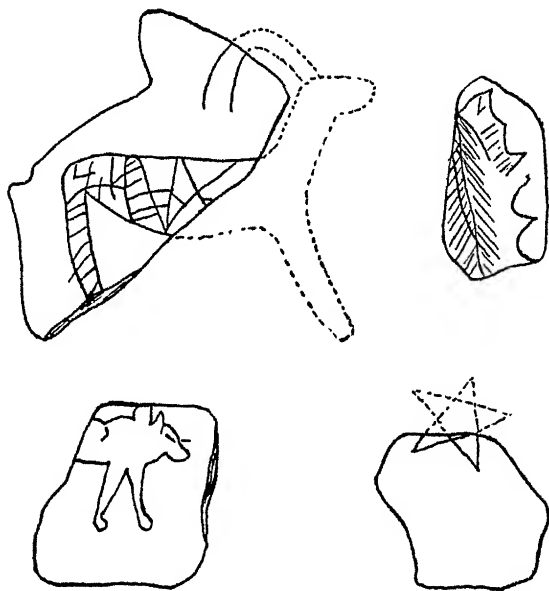


FIG. 5.—Scratched drawings on pottery from Megiddo. (After *SAOC*, No. 10, p. 29, Fig. 10.)

at least an attempt made at graphic art. The pottery of Palestine in this period speaks more convincingly for the rise of a sense of aesthetic values (see Fig. 6). Roughly shaped by hand though it is, there is yet a conscious attempt to achieve forms attractive to the eye. Carinations on the sides of bowls, painted line decorations on cups, knob decorations, variations in rims, handles, and spouts,

streaky color washes—all these bespeak an incipient taste for beauty. This is also reflected sometimes in the stone bowls of the period. Yet, it must be admitted that the most excellent of this Palestinian pottery falls far behind the best of the contemporary ceramic art of the great valleys.

In like manner the religion of the Copper-Stone Age in Palestine remains at a much more primitive level than

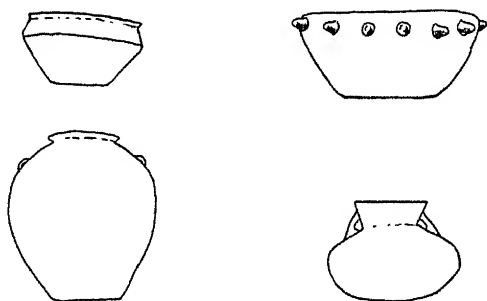


FIG. 6.—Copper-Stone Age pottery from Megiddo. (After SAOC, No. 10, Fig. 6, Nos. 17a, 18a, 23a, 26.)

that of the great neighboring cultures. From the well-developed religious art of contemporary Egypt and Mesopotamia it is clear that the animistic stage of religious thinking had there definitely receded into the background. In both these cultures a pantheon, the individual deities of which were anthropomorphically or zoömorphically conceived, had already emerged. The influence of the agricultural mode of making a living is indicated by the appearance in Mesopotamia of mother-goddess figurines centuries before they are found in Palestine, suggesting the rise of a fertility mythology.³⁵ One does not, of course,

³⁵ See below, pp. 93 ff.

wish to suggest that the concept symbolized by these figurines was unknown prior to the discovery of agriculture. The occurrence in Europe during the Aurignacian era, when agriculture was still completely unknown, of figurines such as are typified by the famous "Venus of Willendorf" precludes such an idea. In the Near East, however, the fertility concept does not receive this form of symbolization until agriculture is well advanced, and its adoption seems to have been related to the earliest efforts of the cultus to formulate a world-view. What bearing this may have on early cultural contacts between Europe and the Near East it is not now possible to forecast. But to revert to the early religious priority of the great valleys over Palestine, it should be said that the most ancient texts from the former amply support the statement that already in the Copper-Stone Age the cultus of those regions was becoming quite complex in correspondence with an increasingly complex social and political structure.

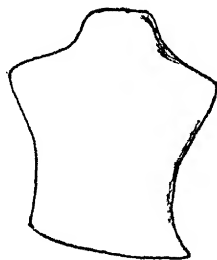


FIG. 7.—Convention-
alized mother-goddess
figurine from Tell Fara.
(After P. E. Macdonald,
et al., *Beth Pelet* II, 71,
Pl. XXVII.)

There is nothing of this in the contemporary religion of Palestine. The only exceptions are a few conventionalized mother-goddess figurines found at Tell Fara in the south, at the very border of the country (see Fig. 7). Outside of this there is no evidence of any anthropomorphic conception of deity in Palestine during this period, unless Professor Albright's views on the age of the Teleilat Ghassul cultures³⁶ should be substantiated; and, even then, it

³⁶ See below, pp. 43 and 56.

must be remembered that Teleilat Ghassul is not in Palestine proper.

While the cultures of the great valleys were moving on from animism to polytheism and passing with varying rapidity from zoöomorphic to anthropomorphic conceptions of deity, the people of Palestine as a whole still continued in that man-centered mood which tended to concentrate attention on death as the outstanding fact of experience. In this ancient "Cult of the Dead" they made some advances over the Natufian stage of cultural evolution. There is no evidence that Natufian man made food offerings to the dead. But in Copper-Stone Age burials mortuary offerings begin to appear in the tombs. The common occurrence of cup-marks in their neighborhood suggests, too, the maintenance, or even the development, of the ritual of this cult, assuming, of course, that in some cases such cup-marks were used for libations. It seems clear, then, that no conception of a world-order had arisen in the minds of the Palestinians of this period. They still concentrated their attentiveness on the fate of man, and were content with an animistic world-view. Thus the religion of Palestine reflects the cultural lag which is typical of this region until the rise of Hebrew prophetism ushers in an age of great intellectual and spiritual advance.³⁷

³⁷ From a reference recently made by Professor Albright (*AJA*, XXXIX [1935], 138) comes information possibly bearing on the conception of the future life in Palestine in the Copper-Stone Age. Professor E. L. Sukenik has recently discovered near Khudeirah, on the coastal plain, some oblong clay ossuaries shaped like houses, and apparently dating from this time. One, the inside of which was decorated with red bands and rows of triangles separated by vertical lines, had a sloping roof, an opening at the front, and three windows at the rear. It is said that a num-

About the beginning of the third millennium prior to the present era, Palestine begins to pass fully into the age of metals. Archaeologists refer to this time as the Early Bronze Age, but the term is somewhat of a misnomer so far as this region is concerned. True bronze, which is an alloy of tin and copper, is not, so far as may be judged from evidence now available, found in Palestine proper in this period, except that at Teleilat Ghassul some bronze artifacts have been found. This site lies in Transjordan to the northeast of the Dead Sea, and at present there is a division of opinion concerning the age of its strata. Professor Albright would date them as from the early fourth millennium, that is to say, in the Copper-Stone Age.³⁸ The excavator of the site, the late Père Mallon, believed, on the contrary, that the strata extend down to the Middle Bronze Age. Subsequent references here made to this site adhere more closely to the latter view without failing,

ber of vessels associated with these ossuaries are characteristically Ghassulian in appearance.

The question naturally arises whether such discoveries might indicate the existence in Palestine at this time of a concept of the next world as a large house or palace. Such an idea seems to be indicated in some of the Mesopotamian liturgies. For example, in the liturgy of the Descent of Ishtar to the land of No Return that region is called "the *house* of darkness," "the *dwelling* of Irkalla," "the *house* whose enterer never comes forth," and so on (cf. G. A. Barton, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 104-45). The form of these ossuaries may at least be said to support the idea that the dead were thought of as living in much the same manner in the other world as they had lived on earth. However, this find can hardly be called typical of the general culture of the country and, save for its possible Ghassulian relations, must be regarded, for the present, as local. Otherwise other relations would probably have appeared before now.

³⁸ Cf. *AJA*, XXXIX (1935), 138, and *BASOR*, No. LVII (1935), p. 30.

however, to recognize that the point of date is still open to question. Aside, however, from Teleilat Ghassul all that can as yet be said on this point is that in Palestine as a whole copper now comes much more fully into use. Yet, the pottery of the so-called Early Bronze Age reflects a great deal of technological progress which may well have had parallels in other aspects of technique. Improved ovens yielded wares that were much more evenly and successfully baked. Pottery forms also are vastly improved by the introduction of the tournette, the primitive potter's wheel.

So far as the religion of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine is concerned, the most important fact yet discovered is possibly that it was in this age that certain sites were constituted as community shrines. The emergence of these sanctuaries in the Early Bronze Age, or possibly even in the Copper-Stone Age, bespeaks the dawning of the community sense which naturally follows the organization of society in villages. The idea of "sociality" has at last emerged in the thinking of the Palestinians of this time, and thus the first step has been taken toward the evolution away from that self-centered interest which characterizes primitive religion in the direction of a philosophy looking toward the relating of man to the totality of his environment.

An important feature of the furnishing of these earliest shrines was the upright stone known as a *maṣṣēvāh*. At Gezer, in this age, the people lived in caves which honey-combed the site of this settlement. They appear to have cremated the bodies of their dead in one of these caves. In their case, however, this does not seem to have indi-

cated the obsolescence of the "Cult of the Dead," which had played such an important part in the religion of the earlier primitive ages in Palestine. The troglodyte crematorium at Gezer had associated with it a *maššēvâh* and the characteristic cup-marks which possibly indicate a religious ritual of some sort. From this evidence it seems justifiable to associate the *maššēvâh*, which becomes so prominent in the religion of Palestine in historical Hebrew times, with the "Cult of the Dead."³⁹

While the association of the crematorium with religious ceremonial may possibly be challenged, this cannot be the case with the so-called "high place" or great community sanctuary of Gezer (see Fig. 8). This sanctuary was established only in the latter half of the third millennium, as Macalister judged from the fact that 2 feet of débris had accumulated on the mound before the erection of the slightly curved alignment of *maššēvôth* which distinguished this shrine.⁴⁰ Originally there were, in all probability, ten of these monoliths, some of which had cup-marks for the reception of offerings.⁴¹

At Lejjun, in Transjordan, there has been discovered a similar shrine of the same period which boasted eighteen monoliths of uncut stone blocks of a height approximating 5 feet.⁴² It should, moreover, be remarked that, in addition to these groups of *maššēvôth*, the occurrence of single monoliths in this period has also been established. There were three monoliths at an Early Bronze Age sanctuary at Ader in Transjordan (see Fig. 9).⁴³

³⁹ Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, I, 74 ff.; for the pottery association see *ibid.*, II, 152 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 404.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 381 ff.

⁴² Cf. *AASOR*, XIV, 45, Fig. 19.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XIV, 46 f.

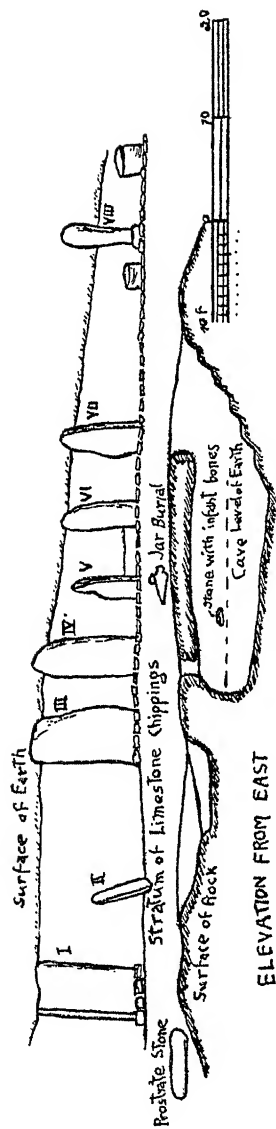


FIG. 8.—Plan of elevation of the alignment of the Gezer Sanctuary. (After R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 387, Fig. 477.)

As has been indicated, the sacred monolith was an established feature of the local sanctuaries of Palestine all through the Canaanite and Hebrew periods. Not only its association with the generally accepted religion, but also its significance, is known from the Old Testament records. In the period in which the latter took shape the *maššēvâh* was obviously the symbol of the male deity, since it invariably occurred with the *ashērâh*, or sacred pole, which symbolized the mother-goddess.

Unfortunately, there is no such clear indication concerning the significance of the standing stone in the Early Bronze period. Outside of the bare possibility that some of the cup-marks associated with the mono-

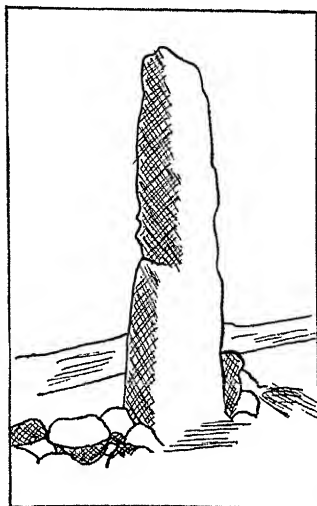


FIG. 9.—Monolith at Ader, east of the Dead Sea. (After AASOR, XIV, 46, Fig. 20.)

liths may have served as sockets in which to set the sacred pole, there is nothing to suggest that the *ashērâh* had any place in the religious rites of Palestine at this time.

It seems reasonable to believe that the standing stone first gained cultic significance through being used to mark the place of what was regarded as an unusual experience with the supernatural.⁴⁴ Where such an experience had, to the primitive mind, occurred, it was more

⁴⁴ Cf. Gen. 20:19 and context.

than likely to be repeated. The stone came to be regarded as a "house of" (*bēth*) "a god" (*ēl*) and was called a "beth-el." In the course of time the attributes of the deity were thought of as inhering in the stone itself. The word "beth-el" is sometimes used as though it were a god name,⁴⁵ and there may be here a case of primitive hypostasis. The term *kāvôdh* ("glory") seems to have been used in much the same way, to indicate an instrument of theophany. In some cases the "glory of God" was an object through which could occur a manifestation of the deity and which, by hypostasis, could be identified with it.⁴⁶ If this is the case, it is not necessary to conclude that the plurality of monoliths at a shrine like Gezer indicates a true polytheism. The one deity could have many such "houses," or "glories," even in the same place. It is quite possible that single *maṣṣēvôth* which had originally been set up and venerated at various locations may have been assembled here in one common shrine, as the community sense developed.

⁴⁵ Cf. Gen. 31:13 which reads in the Hebrew: "I am the god, Bethel," etc. The context suggests that the term "bethel" here alludes more to the place where the revelation occurred, and some of the versions have correctly paraphrased the expression as identifying this deity with the one who had previously appeared to Jacob at the place where he had anointed a *maṣṣēvôth*. Yet, even so, the term here suggests hypostatic usage. On this point cf. A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. xviii f. and No. 22, and the cosmogony of Philo of Byblos (tr. by I. P. Cory in *Ancient Fragments* [London: Pickering, 1832], p. 10). In the papyri and by Philo *Bethel* is used as a divine name. For a recent study of the nature of the *bethel* see G. A. Wainwright, "Jacob's Bethel," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 32 ff.

⁴⁶ Cf. the name Ichabod ("Where Is the Glory?") given to her son by the wife of Phineas after the loss of the ark to the Philistines (I Sam. 4:21) and note the identification of the ark with "the gods" by the Philistines (I Sam. 4:7). Cf. also Hos. 10:5 and John 1:14.

The association of cup-marks with the "Cult of the Dead" in earlier ages has already been pointed out. The fact that at Gezer they are associated with the *maššēvâh*, both at the crematorium and the high place, would seem to warrant the opinion that the cultus practiced at these earliest Palestinian shrines represents a period of transition. The basis of it was the primitive mortuary cult; but already the attention of the worshiper was beginning to be turned from human fate toward the supernatural forces which operate in the environment. It is possible that these monoliths reflect the first dawning of the hope of control of fate which plays such a great part in the later cultus. But the vitality of the "Cult of the Dead" in this stage of transition is possibly suggested by the fact that caves occur in connection with some of these earliest sanctuaries, suggesting association with the nether world. The high place at Gezer stood over such caves; and this high place may well represent a stage of advance over a more primitive mortuary cult earlier associated with the crematorium proper. In this connection one is tempted to recall the "Well of Souls" at the sacred rock in the temple area in Jerusalem, a site which was already sacred before the Early Bronze Age passed.⁴⁷

Another sanctuary which was in use in this age is notable because it is of a somewhat different type and probably

⁴⁷ D. Mackenzie, in "The Excavations at Ain Shems," *Annual of PEF*, 1912, pp. 16 f., 40 ff., describes a "Canaanite sanctuary," with five curious baetyl-like pillars, at Beth Shemesh and dating from the period of Israelite domination. In the vicinity were a mysterious hypogeum, or underground chamber, and a cave, which the excavator called a "High Place Grotto Sepulchre." This belonged to the earlier inhabitants of the city, for the pottery context is Middle Bronze II. If, as is by no means certain, this is a sacred area, it constitutes another example of a cave at a sanctuary.

reflects a mode of life differing from that followed by the people of primitive Gezer. This sanctuary, which was in use well into the Middle Bronze Age, was discovered at modern Bab-ed-Dra at the southern end of the Dead Sea. It too had its alignment of sacred pillars, which, unlike Gezer, however, were set in a large walled inclosure. The plan of this shrine has led investigators to the conclusion that it was a pilgrimage sanctuary to which the people of neighboring centers resorted for the celebration of the great annual festivals. Not far from it were the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (Zoar),⁴⁸ which in late prehistoric times were buried beneath the salt waters of the Dead Sea.⁴⁹ It seems more than likely that such pilgrimage sanctuaries developed among groups which had evolved from a nomadic type of existence in which animal husbandry, rather than agriculture, had been the basic industry. One is reminded of the custom of the Israelites, reflected in a later element of the Book of Samuel, of making a pilgrimage to the sanctuary at Gilgal on certain great occasions.⁵⁰ Like Bab-ed-Dra this sanctuary also faced the desert and had an arrangement of standing stones. It is worth remarking, too, that the most ancient sanctuaries at Jerusalem and Shechem were also outside the city limits and possibly had more affinities with Bab-ed-Dra than with Gezer. The nomadic origin of these pilgrimage shrines is suggested in the He-

⁴⁸ Cf. Gen., chap. 14.

⁴⁹ W. F. Albright, "The Archaeological Results of an Expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea," *BASOR*, No. 14 (1924), pp. 2 ff.; "The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age," *AASOR*, VI (1924-25), 56 ff. See also his *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 134 ff.

⁵⁰ I Sam. 11:14 f.; 13:4 ff., etc.

brew festival of booths as it is known in historic times through the Old Testament records. One should not, however, assume too radical a difference between the cultus which operated in these pilgrimage sanctuaries and that which functioned in a true local community sanctuary such as Gezer. The pilgrimages and periods of camping at the shrine by people of several neighborhoods during certain stated annual occasions probably constituted the chief difference. Both the presence of *maššēvôth* at these sanctuaries and the fact that Bab-ed-Dra was used as a cemetery suggests a cultus with marked mortuary features very similar to that which prevailed in regions where a more sedentary way of life was pursued.

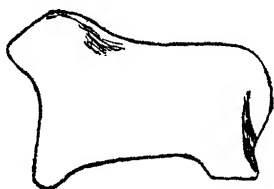


FIG. 10.—Animal figurine from Megiddo. (After SAOC, No. 10, Fig. 15, No. M3534.)

Indeed, there is very little about these Early Bronze sanctuaries of Palestine, of whichever type, to suggest that the processes of agriculture had begun to exercise anything like the influence upon the average man's view of the world which they were already exercising in the great surrounding civilizations. In this connection it is important to take note of the fact that figurines of the mother-goddess play no part in the religion of Palestine in this age. The only idols or charms found in this period are small images of sheep or cattle (see Fig. 10). This suggests that in this region the cultivation of plants and grains was for ages an auxiliary to animal husbandry.⁵¹ The true agricultural religion is invasive in Pales-

⁵¹ Cf. Gen. 4:3-5.

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tine. The mother-goddess figurines, the serpent and dove symbolism, and other aspects of the general Near Eastern pattern of agricultural religion only appear about the time the Hykos begin to penetrate the country. There can be little doubt that these invaders from the north who first introduced the heavily fortified city into Syria-Palestine also brought with them the true agricultural mother-goddess cultus which, in their culture, was perhaps then, or at least soon to be, housed in roofed temples.⁵² This being the case, it is interesting to remark that, although the sacred pillar is frequently mentioned in the patriarchal narratives, no allusion occurs therein to the *ashērâh*, or sacred pole, the symbol of the mother-goddess. The figure of "the garden of Eden" in the second creation story of Genesis seems to be drawn from the more primitive open-air sanctuary with its sacred trees. The cherubim of Gen. 3:24 suggest this, as does also the allusion in Ezek. 28:12-15, which places Tyre in Eden "with the guardian cherubim on the holy hill of God."

So far as Palestine is concerned, the common meal sacrifice which plays such an important part in the cultus of the historical period long antedates the fertility mythology and ritual. It would appear at least possible, on the basis of evidence recently discovered at Megiddo, that

⁵² See below, pp. 81 ff. A report from the excavations at *el-Tell* (ancient Ai) describes an Early Bronze Age construction, built against a citadel, and interpreted by the excavator as a sanctuary. In the southwest corner of one of the two main rooms there was what is described as a Holy of Holies with an altar. In the other room were found two incense stands. There were no figurines of any kind. There is clear evidence of Egyptian influence. If this is a temple, it is, as far as is known, unique in this early period. See Judith Marquet-Krause, "La deuxième campagne de fouilles à Ay, 1934," *Syria*, XVI (1935), 325 ff.

this feature of the later ritual developed originally out of the primitive mortuary cult, possibly being a reflection of the emerging community sense which followed the adoption of village life. On the eastern slope of the *tell*, in what is known as the tomb and building area, cup-marks were discovered whose cultic function is more plainly indicated than is the case with any similar phenomena yet known. In these cup-marks at Megiddo were remains of the bones of animals, which had possibly been boiled therein by the primitive method of filling these basins with water and then throwing heated stones into them. Some stones were even fused by heat against the surface of the cup-marks.

This method of cooking meat was awkward enough in the case of people like the inhabitants of Megiddo in the Early Bronze Age, who certainly knew the use of pottery, to demand explanation. Some unusual motivation must have inspired such a procedure. In the light of such evidence the account of certain practices which were in vogue at a shrine like Shiloh near the close of the pre-monarchical period, is perhaps, significant. At this shrine it was customary to boil the carcass of the animal provided for the common meal sacrifice,⁵³ although, as is well known, the later custom was to roast it.⁵⁴ In view of the long association of cup-marks with a definitely mortuary cultus it seems possible that the common meal sacrifice may have originated in the idea of inviting the participation of the dead in such communion and that only later was the idea of the participation of the deity introduced. It is to be admitted, of course, that one can only speculate

⁵³ I Sam. 2:12 ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. Exod. 12:8 *et passim*.

upon such matters on the basis of evidence now available. But if such could be proved to be the case, the evolution of the common meal sacrifice would afford a nice example of the response of ritual to changing economic techniques and evolving social orders. In the early and more precarious stage of his existence, man's attention is concentrated on human fate; and, as he develops the community sense, one of his highest religious satisfactions comes from communing with the dead through whose survival in the world beyond he projects his own desire for victory and security. But later, as he invents better techniques of economic security, and as there dawns upon his mind the hope of developing controls over the supernatural forces which appear to condition his efforts, he seeks communion with the deity, thus projecting the same basic drives of his nature through a much more adequate rationalization of his environment.

Because of the uncertainty now prevailing concerning the date of the megalithic monuments known as dolmens, it is desirable to discuss these at this point without the prejudicing of conclusions which more investigation may compel. Dolmens, one type of which consists of a large flat "table" stone resting on smaller stones, occur here and there in Palestine (see Fig. 11) and especially in the transjordanian regions.⁵⁵ The dolmen construction incloses a space which may have served as a tomb chamber. Such chambers vary in shape and size, some of them being so small that they may have afforded interment to only some parts of the body of the deceased. Perhaps in these

⁵⁵ C. R. Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine* (London: Billings & Sons, 1899) pp. 19 ff., 125 ff., 159 ff., 184 ff. See also F. Turville Petre, "Dolmen Necropolis Near Kerazeh," *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 155 ff.

cases the flesh was removed from the bones before burial. Vincent suggests that this custom, born, perhaps, of some fear of taint of the dead, had as its purpose the assurance of more rapid and certain passage of the spirit to the world beyond.⁵⁶

The idea that the dolmen had cultic significance is supported by the fact that single stone pillars, and even *gil-gals*, or circles of such *maṣṣēvôth*, are frequently associated with them as with other types of interment. Sometimes

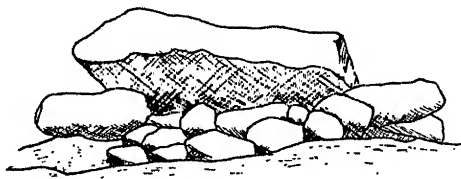


FIG. 11.—Dolmen near the Sea of Galilee. (After photograph by H. G. May.)

the dolmens occur in groups or "fields."⁵⁷ Others occur singly, and in such cases, usually on a hillside. On regarding these lone burials one is tempted to think of the modern tombs of sheikhs and prophets, found so frequently on hillsides and hilltops, where they serve as centers of prayer and worship, and to wonder whether the single dolmen fulfilled any similar function in those long-ago days.

⁵⁶ L. H. Vincent, "Les fouilles de Teleilat Ghassoul (1)," *RB*, XLIV (1935), 223. Vincent questions the Megalithic character of the Ghassulian tombs, which are small adjoining cists. Père Mallon (*Teleilat Ghassoul*, p. 153), suggests that the dead were buried in these small chambers flexed, not on their sides, but squatting on their heels. He assigns them to level IV, which possibly existed until Middle Bronze I, ca. 2000 B.C.

⁵⁷ See C. R. Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 254, who here reports 162 dolmens in an area of 2 square miles in Transjordan, east of the Dead Sea, in Wady, Jideid.

Just how early these megalithic monuments were set up is a question still unsolved. It has been claimed that unpublished results of excavations of dolmen tombs in Transjordan definitely links them with the Ghassulian⁵⁸ culture of the preceding Copper-Stone Age.⁵⁹ If the connection of the megalithic remains with Teleilat Ghassul should be established, it would then be clear that they were of invasive origin, so far as Palestine proper is concerned. The material culture with which they are associated may, indeed, have gained something of a hold on the indigenous stock. But, if so, they accommodated certain features of it, such as the dolmen burial, to their inherited mortuary cultus, while other features of it, such as its fertility worship, made little or no impression.

Some light is thrown upon the nature of the cultus which operated at Teleilat Ghassul by some animal and human figurines found there and by Père Vincent's reconstruction of certain paintings occurring on the wall of one of its buildings. These belong to the late third millennium. There are five conventionalized figurines which seem to reflect a primitive mother-goddess cultus. They are crudely formed and hardly comparable to those of contemporary Mesopotamia. Originating in Transjordan, they are not, so far as is yet known, typical of Palestine proper. The existence of a bull cult in the late Early Bronze Age at Teleilat Ghassul may be suggested on the evidence of one of the paintings as restored by Père Vin-

⁵⁸ A term employed to designate the material culture peculiar to Teleilat Ghassul. See above, p. 41.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 43, and cf. R. Neuville, *RB*, XLIII (1934), 258, and *Biblica*, XI (1930), 249-65.

cent, which depicts a man standing in an attitude of adoration before a bull. Another painting represents, according to the same authority, a large and artistically executed eight-rayed sun dispersing several rather impressionistically delineated monsters of darkness. (see Fig. 12).⁶⁰ The interpretation of both these paintings is, at the moment of writing, hardly more than tentative.

The sun-vanquished monsters of darkness symbolize an idea which furnishes a fitting point at which to bring to a close this discussion of the dawn of culture in Palestine. In a necessarily sketchy manner the treatment has covered several thousands of years of the prehistoric ages. Yet, even this long period sufficed, as it is hoped has been suggested, to bring in only the first faint glimmerings of the dawn. Not until the next, or Middle Bronze, age do the men of Palestine break with a deep-rooted man-centered attitude to life to turn their attention toward the understanding of their environment. Only then does the light of the cultural day commence to break and the last demons of darkness reluctantly begin to dissolve before the slowly rising sun of truth.

Nor should it be forgotten that during the last, or Early Bronze Age of this long protracted dawning of culture in Palestine the cultures of the two great neighboring

⁶⁰ Père L. H. Vincent, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-104. It is suggested (Mallon *et al.*, *Teleilat Ghassul*, p. 85, Fig. 35) that some animal figurines of pottery of this period are effigies of dogs, but it seems more probable that they are sheep. We may also note at this point that at Jericho, associated with a pottery culture more similar to that found at Thessaly (Neolithic II) than to any found in the Orient, there were discovered group statues in pottery representing a man, woman, and child. Their significance is not clear. See J. Garstang, "L'art néolithique à Jericho," *Syria*, XVI (1935), 355 f.



FIG. 12.—Wall painting from Teleilat Ghassul. (After A. Mallon, *et al.*, *Teleilat Ghassul*, Frontispiece.)

valleys, as well as those which were rising on the Highland Zone, and in Crete, were still continuing to forge far ahead of those on the Syro-Palestinian corridor. In Mesopotamia the Sumerians and the Akkadian Semites had by now developed a religion which reflected the great advances they had achieved in the material aspects of culture. In temples which displayed quite remarkable architectural progress they worshipped a highly complex pantheon of deities. They employed a ritual such as could have been evolved only in a culture where considerable philosophic speculation had stimulated the production of a comprehensive, though not now easily comprehensible, mythology. And, stimulated by this intellectual activity, they had achieved artistic and literary powers of expression the influences of which were felt in succeeding ages all around the Near Eastern world. Likewise, in the valley of the Nile, the same age saw one of the supreme technological achievements of all ages in the construction of the pyramids, and witnessed, in the rise of the Old Kingdom, one of the most remarkable attempts at highly centralized government in human history. Reflecting this amazing burst of constructive imagination and executive skill was a religious development fully on a par with that of Mesopotamia in its ideal, its world-view, and its cultus technique. Egypt, indeed, reached in this age the "Dawn of Conscience" while Palestine still lagged far behind in the "Dawn of Culture."

If the royal Egyptian mortuary cultus of the sun god Ra, or the more popular invasive cultus of Osiris, the vegetation deity, or the Mesopotamian cultus of the dying and rising god had any influence upon the culture of Pal-

estine as a whole in the Early Bronze Age, no trace of it has yet rewarded the arduous labors of the archaeologist. Palestine was slow to reflect the cultural light which was breaking over some of the surrounding regions, slow to accept the pattern in which the way of the neighboring world was rapidly shaping itself. Yet, in the fulness of time, that very tardiness to conform, that reluctance to part lightly with well-tested values and long-tried manners and customs, was to play a strategic part in the formulation of a higher philosophy, and in the expression of it through institutions which were durable because they were the result of imperceptible growth rather than of spectacular invention or slavish imitation.

CHAPTER III

FIRST STEPS IN FAITH

"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. . . . Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."¹ In words so translated, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews touches upon one of the achievements of the human spirit that deeply underlies the technological progress by which Man's march through the centuries has been accompanied. Had human attentiveness not been persistently and effectively turned outward to environment, had man's intellectual potentialities not been challenged to the adventure of understanding, had he been permitted to live by hope alone, most of the ability to take care of himself which he now enjoys, blunderingly though he may utilize it, might never have been his.

Religion has something more than a shadowy claim to the credit of having stimulated even this technological efficiency of man, though this fact discloses itself only to those who cultivate a long view of the past. This is not to deny that inventive genius is native to man. Nor is it necessary to base such a statement on any preconceived view of the nature of the world and of the human being. It is true, for example, that agriculture was discovered before religion attempted to formulate a world-view

¹ Heb. 11:1, 3.

which would account for the natural phenomena to which it relates itself; and there is no doubt that man might have gone on indefinitely inventing things at the dictates of his physical needs even had no such world-view ever been formulated.

But, while this is true, the fact remains that, had the mind of man never been challenged by anything more than the physical needs he experienced, he would not at this moment enjoy the command over his material environment which is actually his. If it were possible to place beside the marvelous technological equipment of modern civilization an equipment such as would have been evolved, in the same lapse of time, solely through attentiveness to mere physical necessity, the latter would be ludicrously dwarfed by the former. To reach such a conclusion one has but to reflect upon the heavy indebtedness of applied science to pure science. It is through the devotion of the pure scientist to the quest of understanding that the practical scientist is enabled not merely to satisfy necessity but to enlarge and shape it, not only to meet conscious physical need but actually to create new needs which never crossed the consciousness of the great human mass until they were evoked by an invention which was capable of answering them. Necessity may be "the mother of invention," but curiosity is its *Alma Mater*.

It is by no means too much to claim, as one hopes to substantiate in the present chapter, that it was through that aspect of life which is denoted abstractly as religion that the human mind was first effectively challenged to cope with what the philosopher knows as the problem of

the universe. Under the aegis of religion all human groups have taken their first steps in faith—have made, that is to say, their first inadequate hypotheses about their environments, their first blundering attempts to give substance to the hope that was in them. This is not, of course, to say that attentiveness to environment did not occur first in individuals, or even to deny that it developed in these by way of reaction to what are frequently described as physical stimuli. What is here claimed is not that man's interest in his environment sprang mysteriously from his religious faculty, but rather that it was through the latter's penchant for order that it was developed from an occasional personal reaction into a social attitude which powerfully stimulated the interest and intellectual capacity of individuals.

So it was, for example, in the case of the neo-Babylonian priest, Kidinnu, who, through attention to his cultic duties, may have discovered the precession of the equinoxes,² and who, in any case, was deeply versed in the acute astronomical observations of his craft. The origins of the physical sciences, to say nothing of the social sciences, reach far back into the past to individuals who had been stimulated by some primitive pattern of desire, thought, and conduct, to the critically constructive pursuit of understanding. The gods men worshiped in the

² See P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die babylonische-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1923), pp. 211-45; F. X. Kugler, *Die babylonische Mondrechnung* (Freiburg: Herder, 1900), pp. 103 f.; *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (Munster: Aschendorf, 1909-10), pp. 322, 582 ff., 603 f.; cf. also A. Schott "Das Werden der babylonisch-assyrischen Positions-Astronomie und einige seiner Bedingungen," *ZDMG*, LXXXVIII (1934), 302 ff.

childhood of the race have indeed passed from the scene for those who have even a nodding acquaintance with science. But the realities they symbolized and the fruits of the intellectual and spiritual ferment they evoked from their worshipers have been wrought into the very blood and tissue of humanity. Men had to have hypotheses about the nature of the world to test before they could learn much about it. There had to be a "believing world" before there could be a knowing world. Nor is it beside the point to remark, with reference to the modern scene, that there will never be an understanding world till Faith has done its perfect work. *Credo ut intellegam* is a sentiment still not without its value even to a society whose members pin their frail hopes on science.

About the turn of the second millennium B.C. the material culture of Palestine enters the phase known as Middle Bronze. The first two centuries of this millennium constitute a period of transition known as Early Middle Bronze or Middle Bronze I. Approximately between 1800-1600 B.C. occurs a phase known as Middle Bronze II, which is of great importance for the history of religion because its material remains witness for the introduction, at this time, of the fertility cultus.³ The symbols which reflect this are of the more crude and primitive type connected with that particular manifestation of the religious interest. During the two centuries lying between 1600 and 1400 B.C. the theology of the fertility cultus develops an emphasis on anthropomorphism which is reflected in the growing popularity of the Earth-Mother goddesses. During these centuries there occurs, from the

³ See above p. 52, n. 52.

standpoint of material culture, a transition from the Middle Bronze Age to the Late Bronze Age. Naturally the date of the transition cannot be precisely fixed. Objects deriving from these centuries which reveal more affinity with earlier culture may be classified as Middle Bronze II, while those which show closer relationship with later culture may be classified as Late Bronze I. Between 1400 and 1200 B.C. there emerges another fairly definite cultural phase, also quite important for the history of religion, which is denoted as Late Bronze II.

The purpose of this chapter is to indicate the significance, for the evolution of religion in Palestine, of the objects of cultic origin⁴ which have survived from the various stages of the development of material culture outlined above. It is hoped that the treatment will suggest the justification of the implication underlying the caption of the chapter. This is that it was in this general period, that is to say, between 2000 B.C. and 1200 B.C., that the inhabitants of Canaan first achieved a true culture. In other words, it was then that they first became attentive enough to their environment to develop a world-view which seemed to them to give, on the one hand, substance to their long-cherished hopes, and on the other, such direction of their conduct as promoted, to a generally satisfactory degree, the realization of those hopes.

At the turn of the second millennium B.C., as Palestine entered the period known as Middle Bronze I, the religion of its people was still the ancient "Cult of the Dead." There was no essential deviation from this during the two

⁴ Except temples and literary remains, which will be treated in the following chapter.

centuries which constitute this period. Only in one particular is any change in this ancient mortuary cultus reflected, and that is the increasing care which is bestowed upon burials. The generally crude cave burial chambers of earlier days are now sometimes superseded by shaft tombs with well-hewn chambers. From this one infers that the religious interest reflected in the earlier burials was well maintained and even enhanced in this period.

Deviation from this early, still largely animistic, religion of hope is first reflected in the material culture of the period known as Middle Bronze II. It is indubitably connected with the appearance, on the Syro-Palestinian corridor, of the people known to history as the Hyksos. The fame of the latter, as a rule, rests largely upon the part they played in the history of Egypt. They entered that land in force sometime about the turn of the seventeenth century B.C. and soon exercised a domination which they maintained until early in the reign of Ahmose I (1580-1557 B.C.)⁵ Yet, the influence they exerted upon the Nile Valley was in all probability slight in comparison with the lasting effect they exercised upon the evolution of human society along the Syro-Palestinian corridor. Here they must have established themselves as a ruling caste for some time before their entry into Egypt, nor was the influence of their descendants eradicated even by the many campaigns of the warlike Thutmose III. Indeed, there is a possibility that the Hittite peoples who later seriously threatened Egypt in a manner highly similar represent something like a resurgence of the Hyksos movement fomented by fresh infusions of stocks from the far north.

⁵ Cf. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 214 ff.

It is, of course, true that from a racial standpoint the origins of the Hyksos cannot yet be defined. What may be said with reasonable probability is that they were not a homogeneous people but a more or less fused conglomeracy of Armenoid stocks from the Highland Zone and Semitic Mediterraneans from the forelands to the south of them, probably dominated by more recent intruders from beyond the highlands. Several factors entered into their achievement of political power. The controlling elements among them were natural fighting men. They either possessed or commanded such expertness in the working of metals as enabled them to fabricate superior weapons. They were skilled in the breeding and handling of horses, a circumstance which itself leads one to posit strong far northern connections for them. They were masters of a more advanced fortification technique and possibly also of more effective military maneuvers. These points of superiority enabled them to hold the coastal corridor with relative ease and, for a time, to control Egypt. Doubtless their very superiority commanded the admiration, cooperation, and imitation of the people of such a socially disintegrated area as Syria-Palestine then was. At any rate, it is highly probable that during their domination of the corrugated strip of land along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean the people of that region came nearer to experiencing a strong, centralized authority than had ever previously been the case.

This had significant bearing on the cultural evolution, for, as will later appear in some detail, the culture which the Hyksos carried, especially in its religious aspects, was by no means unique. On the contrary, their cultus had, in

the beginning, strong, perhaps indirectly derived, affinities with those of Crete and of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, a circumstance which suggests that the rank and file of the Hyksos conglomeracy were derived from peoples long resident in the Near East and in touch with those regions. After the conquest of Egypt the culture of that land also affected the influence which the Hyksos wielded on the territories they held. No doubt much of the ability which they displayed to alter the native mortuary religion of Syria-Palestine was due to the absoluteness of their political dominance. Nevertheless, there is a distinct possibility that there were features in the ideal, ideology, and cultus of the religion they introduced with which the native mortuary cult had enough affinity to render transition relatively easy and acceptable. However it be accounted for, the fact remains that a tremendous and rapid religious metamorphosis occurred in this country as a result of the advent of the Hyksos; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say that they were the founders of that pattern of culture which prevailed there when the progenitors of the Hebrew people first stepped upon the stage—a culture which is happily enough denoted as “Canaanite,” though without reference to the identity of the group most responsible for its establishment in that area.

That raises at once the question of the relation of the Hebrews to this Hyksos movement and to the “Canaanite” culture, to the development of which the latter gave at least the initial impetus. An adequate discussion of that question should be preceded by a careful evaluation of the historical worth of the Old Testament narratives

which cover the period from the migration of Abraham to the conquest of Canaan by the tribes under Joshua. Unfortunately, such an inquiry does not lie within the scope of the present volume, nor does space permit any more than a general indication of views on the historical problems involved.

Concerning the patriarchal narratives in Genesis, it may be said that the archaeological researches of the past several years have tended to confirm the judgment that a basis of authentic tradition underlies these. The historical worth of the tradition for the period with which the narrative deals must always be kept in mind as one proceeds to the further tasks of abstracting from the narrative features which derive from the social situations of those who wrote it, and of estimating their worth as evidence concerning those situations. It is a grave mistake to treat these narratives as purely imaginative tales by which later writers projected their own present into the past, for they embody some authentic memories of tribal movements and of the cultural evolution, the value of which is enhanced as they are brought into relation to evidence contemporary with the periods to which those memories extend. By attention to this, much highly subjective literary criticism and historical reconstruction may in time be eradicated.

That there existed some kind of relationship between the Hyksos and certain Semitic tribes of whose early tribal history some authentic memory has been preserved in the Jacob-Joseph stories in Genesis is suggested by the well-known fact that these names occur in proper name compounds among the Hyksos. It seems highly probable that

the Jacob migrations were identified with the movement of the Hyksos peoples into Palestine and that there is some connection between the Joseph stories and the Hyksos domination of Egypt. Reference will shortly be made to features of these narratives which fit so well into the evidence for the evolution of the religion-culture of Canaan in these times as to force the conclusion that such verisimilitude cannot spring from imaginative invention. It has been deemed more advisable, however, to draw attention to these as suggested by the discussion of the evidence than to enumerate them at this point. Here one may be permitted to state in anticipation the conclusion which they tend to confirm, namely, that the Old Testament narratives covering the early patriarchal period are later Hebrew interpretations of traditions originally deriving from the Canaanite culture of the age under consideration. The significance of such a conclusion for the larger question of the origins of that later, Iron Age culture, which may be justifiably regarded as distinctively "Hebrew," will subsequently appear more fully.

A much more knotty problem in the same general area is presented by the biblical narratives which deal with the exodus from Egypt under Moses and the settlement in Canaan under Joshua. These also reflect the influence upon their writers of the social situation of their own times and represent later attempts to unify earlier traditions and utilize them in influencing those later situations. The attempt to abstract these earlier traditions from the narrative, to test their historical value by independent evidence, and to reconstruct what probably happened is just now being prosecuted by scholars. Naturally, wide

difference of opinion has developed, and the least one can do is to recognize that it is not at all possible to speak with dogmatic certainty about the problems of the exodus and settlement.

Many important questions for the history of religion in Palestine, such as the origin of Yahwism, the origin of Hebrew law, and the development of monotheism, depend upon the dates and chronological order of the events of this period. For example, on the date of the exodus depends to some extent the possibility that Hebrew monotheism is genetically related to the influence of the great idealistic Egyptian ruler, Ikhnaton (1375-1358 B.C.). Likewise, on this point, and on the question of the chronological order of Joshua and Moses, depends the relationship of the later Hebrews to the Habiru, who are mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters several of which are contemporary with Ikhnaton.

To many it would be a highly satisfactory reconstruction if the exodus and settlement could thus be placed in the Amarna period. But neither the material remains nor the biblical records seem at the present to permit of such a simple solution of the problem. Consequently, the contradictory nature of the evidence leads naturally to the emergence of two schools of thought, one of which places the exodus in the fourteenth century while the other places it at approximately the beginning of the twelfth.

Support for the earlier date has been claimed for the evidence from the excavation of Jericho, which is interpreted by some authorities, contrary however to the views of others, as indicating that that city was destroyed in the early fourteenth century B.C. On the other hand,

the excavations at Et-Tell, the ancient Ai, the city which the biblical record claims was "devoted" to Yahweh by its complete destruction shortly after the fall of Jericho,⁶ yield no evidence of any occupation of that site in the Late Bronze Age. The narrative in Joshua, chapter 8, and particularly verse 17, suggests the possibility of confusion as between Ai and Bethel. But careful study of the Late Bronze strata at Bethel reveals the only complete destruction of that city as occurring at least a century later than the date claimed for the destruction of Jericho. If the identification of Tell ed-Duweir with ancient Lachish is established, this may further complicate the question. For, though the biblical record claims that Lachish was destroyed by Joshua soon after the fall of Jericho, the results of the modern study of the site up to the present suggest that the city fell in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Explorations recently made in Edomite territory also seem to tell still further against the earlier date for the exodus, in view of the claim of the biblical record that Moses tried unsuccessfully to secure the permission of the Edomites for the passage of his people through their land.⁷ For these reveal that there were no settled communities in this region between the nineteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. In the same way the discovery of a stele of Ramses II at Beth-Shan fits so well with Exod. 1:11 as to lead advocates of the later date to infer that this ruler was the pharaoh of the oppression and his successor, Merneptah, the pharaoh of the deliverance.⁸

⁶ See *BASOR*, No. 52 (1933), p. 19, and No. 53 (1934), p. 23.

⁷ Num. 20:14-21.

⁸ Cf. J. Garstang, "The Fate of Jericho Revealed by the Spade," *ILN* December 16, 1933, pp. 994 ff.; "A Third Season at Jericho: City and Ne-

The difficulty which results in such contrary conclusions seems to arise from the fact that all the evidence, biblical and extra-biblical alike, gives some ground for placing the entry into Egypt, the oppression, the exodus and the settlement in Canaan, at more than one point in history. The confusion has largely arisen, no doubt, because, in the Old Testament, traditions which originally had little or no chronological relationship have been telescoped. In such a situation the scientific procedure would seem to be the repudiation of irreconcilably conflicting hypotheses and the endeavor to formulate one which might reconcile the apparently contradictory evidence. For this reason many are now much attracted by the hypothesis proposed by Professor T. J. Meek. He suggests that Joshua preceded Moses by a century or more and that there were two "conquests" of Canaan by the "Hebrews." The first began in the Amarna age; and the descendants of those who entered at that time, under Joshua's leadership, were among the elements which later constituted the kingdom of Israel. The second was car-

ropolis," *PEFQS*, LXIV (1932), 149 ff.; "Jericho: City and Necropolis," *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XIX (1932), 3 ff., 35 ff.; *ibid.*, XX (1933), 3 ff.; *ibid.*, XXI (1934), 99 ff.; L. H. Vincent, "The Chronology of Jericho," *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 104 ff.; N. Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb," *BASOR*, No. 55 (1934), 3 ff.; "The Civilization of the Moabites," *AJA*, XXXVIII (1934), 212 ff.; "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I," *AASOR*, XIV (1934), 1 ff.; "Explorations in Eastern Palestine II," *AASOR*, XV (1933), 1 ff.; W. J. Phythian-Adams, "Israel in the Arabah," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 181 ff.; W. F. Albright, "The Kyle Memorial Excavations at Bethel," *BASOR*, No. 56 (1934), pp. 2 ff.; "Observations on the Bethel Report," *ibid.*, No. 57 (1935), pp. 29 ff.; "Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," *ibid.*, No. 58 (1935), pp. 10 ff.; A Rowe, "The Two Royal Stelae of Beth Shan," *MJ*, XX (1929), 89 ff.

ried out by a much smaller group, originally under the leadership of the Levite, Moses. This group began its penetration during the troubled times about the turn of the twelfth century, and its descendants only rose to hegemony over Canaan in the times of David. After the disruption of the latter's kingdom this group constituted the kingdom of Judah.⁹ The status of this problem does not permit one at present to commit one's self absolutely to any of these views. Yet the consensus of judgment seems to be moving toward the later date for the exodus; and it seems increasingly probable that the final reconstruction of the political and cultural history will be distinctly indebted to the ideas of Professor Meek and of those who stimulated him.

Whatever may be the relationship between the Habiru who entered Palestine in Amarna times and the later Hebrew people, there is at present reason to believe that no close tribal relations existed between them and the Jacob tribes who came in with the Hyksos. The impression of this which is conveyed by the biblical narratives is due to a later, socially motivated treatment of earlier Canaanite traditions. For there can hardly be any doubt that the descendants of this Jacob group must have become to a large extent conformed to Canaanite culture. This was at its height when their ancestors came, and there is no indication of its decline for at least a century and a half. In

⁹ T. J. Meek, "A Suggested Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History," *AJT*, XXIV (1920), 209-16; "Some Religious Origins of the Hebrews," *AJSL*, XXXVII (1920-21), 101 ff.; cf. also J. M. P. Smith, "Some Problems in the Early History of Hebrew Religion," *ibid.*, XXXII (1915-16), 81 ff., and D. D. Luckenbill, "On Israel's Origins," *AJT*, XXII (1918), 24-53.

the discussion of the evidence afforded by the material remains of the cultus of the time, attention will be called to the agreement between this evidence and certain passages of the biblical record in support of such a view. Nevertheless, while it is almost certainly true that the descendants of the tribes who entered Palestine in Amarna times became conformed to the Canaanite culture pattern, that does not mean that, as a group, they were ever able to intrench themselves in any position of economic or political dominance within that Canaanite civilization. The biblical record suggests that they continued in the status of peasants—Canaanite peasants, indeed—but still not of the ruling caste of the land. This is a point which has bearing on some questions which must later be considered.¹⁰

To revert now to a major theme, the contribution made by the so-called Hyksos to the religious aspects of the cultural evolution in Canaan, the earliest traces of their influence are found in certain phenomena which, on the one hand, seem to relate themselves to the ancient "Cult of the Dead" and yet, on the other, suggest the beginning of a significant deviation from it. For some time after the appearance of these intruders in Palestine the native shaft tombs appear to have been used for the bestowal of the dead, and the interment was made in a necropolis outside the city walls. This would not, of itself, have so much possible significance. But what may add importance to this custom is the fact that, at the same time, infant jar burials were made, not only in the necropolis but within the city walls, where they are found beneath the walls,

¹⁰ Cf. below, pp. 157 f.

thresholds, and floors of various buildings (see Fig. 13). Such infant jar burials never occur in Palestine prior to Hyksos times but are found much earlier in Mesopotamia.¹¹ This is one of many indications of the relations

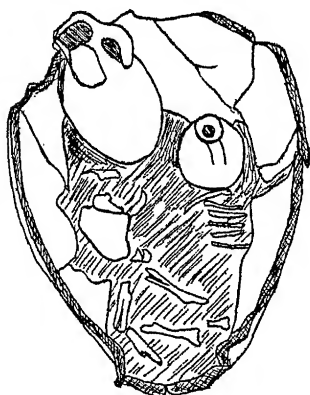


FIG. 13.—Infant jar-burial from Megiddo. (After *OIC*, No. 4, p. 50, Fig. 28.)

of the Hyksos with the great cultures of surrounding lands.

The interpretation of the religious significance of these jar burials is most difficult and, in the nature of the case, at present highly speculative. Yet a tentative interpretation of the evidence in the light of earlier and later religious trends in Palestine may be offered. As has been pointed out, the ruling idea in the primitive stages of the mortuary cultus seems to have been

that of communion or fellowship, reflecting the simple projection of present hope into the future. At first communion may have been with the spirits of the dead; but, as emergence from simple animism began, communion with deity grew more important.¹² The motive of this communion was doubtless self-interest; but there appears, in this early stage, no sign of an idea that the powers with whom the worshiper communed could be controlled or coerced by him in his own interest. On the other hand,

¹¹ C. Bache, "First Report on the Joint Excavation at Tepe Gawra and Tell Billah, 1932-33," *BASOR*, No. 49 (1933), p. 10.

¹² See above, pp. 53 ff.

as will shortly appear, the later cultus technique of the Canaanite religion, in the period when that civilization was at its apex, was an elaborate expression of such an underlying idea.¹³

When these facts are remembered, certain features of the religion of Canaan in the earlier period become significant as suggesting that this may have been a period of transition from a more primitive cultus dominated by a psychology of communion, to a more sophisticated cultus dominated by a psychology of coercion—a phenomenon which would arise very naturally, if not inevitably, within a society which was in process of being brought under the economic and political dominance of an imperialistic ruling caste.

The jar burials, to which reference has just been made, may have a bearing upon such an interesting possibility. The first point of importance about them is that they are found within the city. Their location in the necropolis suggests the normal death of those thus interred. The segregation of the dead in a separate "city" outside the walls suggests a change in viewpoint about them which may finally result in that attitude known to historical times when the dead were regarded as "unclean." They were those on whom higher powers had laid hand, and the word "unclean" was originally used of them more in the sense of "dangerous." Natural death being the normal thing, burial outside the city would be the normal procedure. But the location of jar burials within the city walls is abnormal. The suggestion has been made that

¹³ See below, pp. 92 f.

these are the burials of sacrificed infants,¹⁴ who were offered when the foundations of a building were being laid. In support of this is cited the fact that the Old Testament preserves a memory of the custom of offering children as foundation sacrifices.¹⁵ The specific provision in Old Testament cultus law for the substitution of an animal in place of the first-born son as the victim of a sacrifice¹⁶ likewise seems to point back to such a memory.

That the foundation sacrifice was not the true offspring of the pre-Hyksos "Cult of the Dead" is suggested by many facts brought to light by excavators in Palestine, from which it appears that the motivation underlying it was hope of prosperity and security in this world rather than in the next. To the Hyksos, who owed much of their success to the horse, which they were the first to introduce into the country, this animal was sacred. From Tell el-Ajjul, ancient Beth-Eglaim, Sir W. M. F. Petrie reports a singular foundation sacrifice found beneath a late Hyksos palace. The sacrifice was a horse which had been buried in a pit. Around the pit were scattered the bones of two horses which he regarded as having been devoured as a common meal sacrifice.¹⁷ In other cases, at the same site, horses and asses had been buried with humans in such a way as to suggest sacrifice. In one instance four asses had been sacrificed and buried at a slightly higher level than the accompanying human burial. In such burials, of course, the intent may have been nothing more than to

¹⁴ See R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, II, 431 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. I Kings 16:34.

¹⁶ Exod. 13:2; 22:29; etc.

¹⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, "Ancient Gaza: Its Palaces and Horse Sacrifices," *ILN*, May 14, 1932, pp. 814 ff.

provide transportation for the deceased person in the next world.¹⁸ There is, however, plenty of reason in the religion of Near Eastern peoples for regarding both the horse and the ass¹⁹ as animals of cultic significance. The horses and chariot of the sun was a common symbol, an authentic survival of which had some connection with the cultus practiced in the temple at Jerusalem in the late seventh century B.C.²⁰

The indication given by this evidence that the foundation sacrifice was not a development of a true mortuary cult is further strengthened by the fact that foundation deposits are found in the Iron Age which contain no skeleton, whether of man or beast. In this later age the foundation offering might consist of a couple of bowls and a lamp, or of other vessels and objects. This suggests that in the case of this rite the trend was toward the increasing insignificance of the mortuary aspects of the practice. Altogether, there is much in all these indications pointing to the conclusion that with the institution of jar burials there begins to be introduced the technique of a cultus which tends to focus human attention more upon the realization of success and security in the present world, and which bends its efforts toward the control of supernatural forces to this end.

In this connection it should be noted that many of

¹⁸ W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* (London: British School of Archaeology on Egypt, 1931), I, 4 ff. and Pls. VIII-IX.

¹⁹ See below, p. 133.

²⁰ II Kings 23:11. Cf. *MJ*, XX (1920), 57, for a model horse and chariot from the Amenhotep III period at Bethshan. On the sun cult in relation to the cultus at Jerusalem, cf. S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth and Ritual* (London: Oxford Press, 1934), pp. 87 ff.

these intra-urban infant jar burials of the early Hyksos period are found beneath the thresholds of houses and the floors of shrines.²¹ This points toward the same interpretation as has been ventured in the case of the foundation burials. The Old Testament bears abundant evidence that the threshold was the seat of the family cultus, the shrine of the *lares* and *penates* of the household.²² Such burials may have been either for the influencing of these or for the warding-off of evil spirits, just as even today in some parts of the Near East the sacrificing of an animal over the threshold of a newly constructed house is thought to ward off the evil eye from that house.²³ Jar burials of infants beneath the floors of shrines may very well be related to the custom practiced by women of resorting to shrines in quest of fertility, a memory of which is preserved in many Old Testament passages.²⁴ It is in this connection that one is tempted to remark that the shape of the jar used in these interments, and the embryonic position in which the body was placed therein, are highly suggestive of the womb with its embryo, in which case they would symbolize life and, where the concepts underlying sympathetic magic were held, would also be thought to induce it. Such an offering could be fittingly deposited within the city of the living in any of the connections in which it has been discovered in an age when life, pros-

²¹ S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine on the Light of Archaeology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 82.

²² Exod. 21:6; Deut. 15:17; I Sam. 5:5.

²³ See S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religions Today* (Chicago: Revell, 1902), pp. 233 ff.

²⁴ E.g., I Sam. 1:9 ff.; cf. 2:20.

perity, and security in this present world were to become supreme in the range of human values.

The possibility that the introduction of infant jar burials in the Middle Bronze II period signifies such a deviation from the ancient "Cult of the Dead" as has just been suggested is vastly increased by the fact that the first clear traces of the introduction of a true fertility cultus into Palestine appear as this age progresses. In its earlier, though much more so in its later, manifestations, this worship of the personified powers of fertility is rich in zoöomorphic symbolism. The fertility forces are represented as deities in human form; and their attributes and functions are symbolized by animals, reptiles, birds, and fish. Undoubtedly this zoöomorphic symbolism is a survival of an animistic stage in which animals or animal spirits were worshiped, and comes down from a primitive stage of religious development. But so far no evidence has been discovered justifying the conclusion that such a stage ever occurred in the religious evolution in Palestine itself. For it is most probable that the attributes of the deities symbolized thus were already associated with them when their cultus was introduced into the country, since few material remains of a zoöomorphic religion deriving from an earlier age have been discovered.

One of the earliest known zoöomorphic symbols of the fertility cultus in Canaan is the snake, which is associated with the life-bearing mother-goddess, a symbol which appears much earlier in the religions of the great neighboring civilizations. In an early Mesopotamian pictograph, for example, there is found a very primitive representation of a mother-goddess in association with a serpent

coiling around a staff.²⁵ From Crete come the oft-pictured faience figures of the mother-goddess holding snakes in her hand, or coiling over her body and headdress, which belong to the later Middle Bronze Age (Middle Minoan III).²⁶

The snake symbol occurs quite frequently in the cultic remains of this period discovered in Palestine. One of the

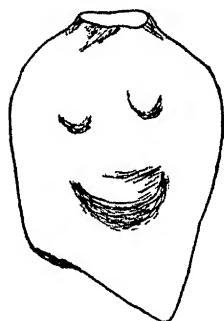


FIG. 14.—Snake figurine from Beth-Shan. (After A. Rowe, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History*, Pl. 35, Fig. 4.)

best early examples is an idol or stele recovered from a Middle Bronze stratum at Tell Beit Mirsim (ancient Debir or Kirjath-Sepher). It probably stood originally in a niche of a chapel or oratory in a house or palace. This fragmentary monument portrays in relief a draped female figure. In the foreground a large serpent rises from the ground and rests its head between the thighs of the goddess, thus clearly symbolizing the fertilizing power, conceived as residing in the ground, through which the goddess fulfilled her function.²⁷ From certain Late Bronze Age temples at Beth-Shan, to which further reference will later be made, come many objects illus-

²⁵ S. Langdon, *The Mythology of All Races* (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 1931), V, 90, Fig. 46.

²⁶ Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Vol. I (London: Macmillan, 1921), frontispiece. For faience snake goddesses of this period from Crete see *ibid.*, pp. 502 ff., or H. T. Bossert, *Altkreta* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1923), Figs. 103-6.

²⁷ Cf. W. F. Albright, "The Second Campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim (Kirjath-Sepher)," *BASOR*, No. 31 (1928), pp. 1 ff.

trating the association of the snake symbol with this Canaanite fertility cultus. One is the figure of a snake with human breasts beneath which is a cup (see Fig. 14).²⁸

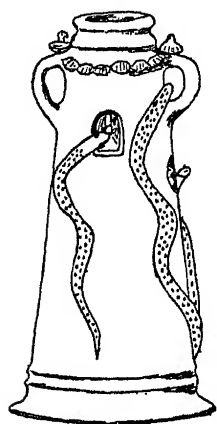
²⁸ A. Rowe, "The 1927 Excavations at Beisan," *MJ*, XIX (1928), 164. There is a rare type of statue from Egypt belonging to the reign of Amenhotep II, in which the kneeling figure of a man holds before him a serpent identified by the inscription as the harvest goddess, Ernutet. See R. O. Faulkner, "A Statue of a Serpent Worshipper," *JEA*, XX (1934), 154 ff.

A significant study of one motive in snake symbolism in the Near East has been made by E. Douglas van Buren ("Entwined Serpents," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, X [1935], 53 ff.). The author thinks that the symbol was not an attribute or representation of any one god at the time of Gudea, but rather a symbol of the sacred marriage, and an augury of the benefits from the ritual which represented the divine union. But one example of this motive is known after the time of Gudea, although it was to reappear much later as the symbol of Asklepios, the god of healing.

H. Frankfort notes that this symbol, the caduceus, is perhaps the symbol of Ningizzida, one form of the deity Ab-u, lord of vegetation, who had his temple at Tell Asmar. It is thus that he also interprets the entwined serpents on the famous steatite vase of Gudea. A suggested explanation of the entwined serpents is that they represent two snakes copulating. Another name for Ningizzida is Shahan, which means *fire*, and which is doubtless to be found in the name of the Canaanite town Beth-Shan, where the shake deity was worshiped. Frankfort makes the following interesting conclusion: "Thus it seems that we must conceive the Sumerians at Eshnunna (and elsewhere) as having worshipped as one of their main deities a god who personified the generative force of nature, and was therefore manifest in the fertility of the soil and of the flocks, who lived in the netherworld and often assumed the shape of a serpent, who was exposed to dangerous encounters but succeeded in vanquishing monsters, and whose connubium with the goddess was an essential part of the ritual."

Frankfort's discussion, based upon the glyptic art of the period, is most significant for the understanding of Near Eastern religious symbolism. Among the interesting things discussed is an early dynastic seal from a private house, on which is depicted the ritual wedding of the god and goddess. The same motive existed on a limestone stele from the temple of Abu at Tell Asmar and on a seal from Khafaje. There is also a seal of two gods attacking a seven-headed hydra, reminding us of the Ras

This was found in the Amenhotep III level. Another is a cult object which illustrates also other types of zoömorph symbols. It is apparently an offering-stand comprised of a tapering hollow pottery cylinder with apertures in which doves are perched (see Fig. 15). Around it writhe, in clear relief, four snakes, who peer at the doves in the apertures. Above the handles of the stand are perched two more doves. This comes from the Ramses II temple at Beth-Shan and is, therefore, Late Bronze II.²⁹ As one considers this object, one cannot but



(a)



(b)

FIG. 15.—(a) Pottery offering stand from Beth-Shan. (After *ILN*, December 26, 1925); (b) bronze model of a serpent from Gezer. (After R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 399, Fig. 488.)

recall the counsel attributed to Jesus in the "Judean" gospel of Matthew (10:16), "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Whatever may have been the connotation of the words "wise" and "harmless" to

Shamra description of the Leviathan. The article is also important for the early history of Marduk, and the Sumerian and Semitic representations of the fight between Marduk and the dragon (H. Frankfort, "Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals," *Iraq*, I [1934], 2 ff.).

²⁹ Cf., however, Sir Arthur Evans, *op. cit.*, V, Part I (1935), 138 ff., who reports Fitzgerald as advocating an Early Iron Age dating for this object. No evidence for the view is, however, presented.

the writer of this passage, a study of the ancient symbolism of which they are an echo both illustrates the Palestinian flavor of the idiom and suggests the possible failure of the English translation to bring out to the full the positive and constructive nature of the counsel offered to those who were to go forth "as sheep among wolves." The association of the snake and dove symbolism with fertility deities is further illustrated by an object from a Beth-Shan temple which will be mentioned in another connection. This is a pottery model shrine which associates serpent, dove, and lion with deities, among which is the mother-goddess.

It would appear that the serpent might symbolize either beneficent or evil powers. When associated, as just described, with the mother-goddess cult, it symbolized the nourishing and protective aspects of Nature. A bronze model of a serpent, just under 4 inches in length, found at Gezer recalls the bronze serpent in the temple at Jerusalem.³⁰ It may have served either as a protective amulet or as a symbol of the benign aspects of Nature (Fig. 15A).³¹ On the other hand, the snake was also used as a symbol of darkness and chaos, the adversary of the god of light and order.³²

The dove is one of the commonest of the zoöomorphic symbols of this "Canaanite" fertility cultus which invaded Canaan with the Hyksos. Other birds, however, may have had a similar symbolic value. The artists who

³⁰ II Kings 18:4.

³¹ See R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 398, 399. The bronze snake was found associated with Cypriote, wishbone handled bowls which should be dated in the Late Bronze Age.

³² See below, p. 135 *et passim*.

decorated the Hyksos pottery frequently depicted birds on it, while from Tell el-Ajjul comes a vessel on which is



FIG. 16.—Decoration of bird with mother-goddess star on wing, on pottery from Tell el-Ajjul. (After W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I*, Pl. XXVIII, 4.)

is painted a bird with the star of the mother-goddess upon its wing (see Fig. 16).³³

The fish is another common symbol. This is associated directly and very strikingly with early Sumerian representations of the god and goddess. In several of these from a vessel or vessels held by the deity pour streams of water which coil in serpentine fashion over the garments (see Fig. 17). Up these life-giving streams swim



FIG. 17.—Deity with streams in which fish swim. (After W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 99, Fig. 285.)

tiny fish who symbolize the life imparted by the fructifying waters.³⁴ One naturally wonders whether the use of the snake as a symbol of the fertilizing power was first sug-

³³ W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, I, Pl. XXXVIII, 4.

³⁴ See W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1910), pp. 96 ff. and 156.

gested by the serpentine course of the river. A meandering stream normally connotes fertility. It weaves slowly back and forth and, over a wide space, acts as an agent of deposition. On the other hand, a river which drops rapidly and follows a more or less direct course has no immediate opportunity to broaden the field of its effect or to make fertilizing deposits but is, on the contrary, an agent of erosion. The fertile lands lie along the winding rivers. In the light of this possibility and of the fact that the river which issued from Eden divided into "four heads,"³⁵ the four serpents of the offering-stand from Beisan become even more interesting.³⁶ In connection with the fish sym-

³⁵ Gen. 2:10 ff.

³⁶ In the interpretation of the serpent symbolism on the Beth-Shan offering-stand some interesting Cretan snake cult objects just reported by Sir Arthur Evans are important (*The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, IV, Part I [London: Macmillan, 1935], 138 ff.). Among these there is a figurine which takes the form of a table with a bowl in the center. The upper surface of the table is divided into four separate compartments by raised partitions. This object is described by Evans as a snake table, "conveniently arranged with grooves to accommodate two pairs of reptiles with their heads and necks rising toward the food vessel in the middle." This object dates from the Late Bronze Age (perhaps Late Minoan II).

Even more significant are certain other objects, belonging to the type of religious instruments represented in the Beth-Shan or Lachish offering-stands, and which Evans calls "snake tubes." These have *two pairs* of cups on the outside and are in some cases decorated with serpents. Evans believes that they originated in a "purely household cult" and that their form was adapted from the familiar forms of sections of pottery drain and water pipes which were used in Knossos. He suggests that the genius of the household took the form of a snake, and that the function of the cups was to supply the snakes with food and drink. He believes that the actual snakes were kept in private households, and that these ate and drank from the "snake tube" and found its interior a place of shelter and retirement. In the course of time, through the fusion of the household snake cult with the cult of the Minoan mother-goddess, the serpent became associated

bol it may be remarked that in the pantheon of the cultus at Ras Shamra³⁷ occurs a goddess known as Asherat (Astarte) of the Sea, who is represented in the liturgy as having a measure of authority over the throne of the earth-fructifying deity, Alein Baal, and as being expected by El to supply an occupant for it, after Alein Baal's death, from among her sons.³⁸ Possibly there is some memory here of the influence of a cultus in which the sea

with the latter. The typical Minoan mother-goddess symbols were lacking in the "snake room," in which many of these objects were found.

One would respectfully suggest, however, that such an interpretation ignores the long history of tubular offering-stands as known from earliest times in the Near East. While it is possible that the form of these Cretan objects may have been influenced in part by the drain or water pipes, their origin must also be associated with the tubular offering-stands known from at least as early as the third millennium in Mesopotamia and Egypt. The function and interpretation of such stands were doubtless manifold, as illustrated by the offering-stand beside the altar of the Lachish temple (see p. 113), where it may have supported a bowl of offering, and by the Late Bronze offering-stand which was used as a libation conduit in connection with the mortuary cult at Minet el-Beida (adjacent to Ras Shamra) (see F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria*, XIII [1932], 12, and XIV [1933], 108 ff.).

It would seem that the hypothesis of a simple household cult is insufficient to explain the origin of the Cretan "snake tubes." In part, at least, they may have been used by the people when they repaired to the shrine of the goddess to present to her the offerings which symbolized the blessings they desired to induce her to grant to them. We would not deny that the snake table with bowl described above may be evidence that sacred snakes were nourished in the household, but we can only guess the complex ideology which may have been associated with this object. The connection suggested by Evans between the Cretan water pipes and the snake tubes may possibly indicate the association of water symbolism with snakes. If so, it would tend to support the interpretation of the latter offered above.

³⁷ Fuller reference will be made shortly to the recent discoveries at this site.

³⁸ See *Syria*, XII (1931), 195=I AB, col. I, ll. 14 ff.

was thought of as the mother of the life-giving waters. In this connection it is interesting to compare the cosmogony of Genesis, chapter 1, where the earth itself rises from the womb of the primordial watery chaos with that of Genesis, chapter 2, where the river which divides to water the earth springs from the garden which the Creator has planted in its midst.

Still another symbol which first occurs in Palestine on the painted pottery of the Hyksos period is the sacred tree, though it makes its appearance much earlier in the symbolism of the religions of many of the great neighboring cultures, especially that of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley.³⁹

The wideness with which this zoöomorphic symbolism was used and the part it played in the psychological evolution in Palestine are attested by the tenacity with which these symbols survived, in the life of masses and classes alike, down to the very close of the Hebrew experiment with the monarchy. The snake symbol recalls at once the serpent in the garden of Eden⁴⁰ and the lifting up by Moses, in the desert, of the image of a serpent, the cultic symbol of life, as an antidote to the death-dealing venom of the natural reptile.⁴¹ One is reminded, too, of the record in II Kings 18:4, where it is claimed that a bronze serpent made by Moses was removed from the temple at Jerusalem and destroyed. This may be a somewhat guarded and innocuous reference to the worship, in that edifice, of a mother-goddess who was considered as a con-

³⁹ Cf. G. A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), pp. 127 ff.

⁴⁰ Gen., chap. 3.

⁴¹ Num., chap. 21.

sort of Yahweh. In the past few years much evidence has been accumulating which points to the conclusion that in the most generally accepted type of religion in Palestine, down to the times of Josiah at least, Yahweh was thought of as having a consort. In the Elephantine papyri the god name Anat-Yahu occurs. Anat, as will later appear, is a name widely used in Syria-Palestine for the consort of the god of fructification, and the compound here adduced may specify the Anat of Yahweh. A snake goddess of this name was very possibly the patroness of Anathoth, the birthplace of Jeremiah, just three miles north of Jerusalem. The fact that Professor Badè found at Mizpeh an "Astarte temple" quite close to what probably was a Yahweh temple points in the same direction.⁴² Perhaps even more startling in this connection is the occurrence in the recently discovered Ras Shamra tablets of the deity name Yo-Elat.⁴³

The dove symbolism also survives in the Old Testament; nor has it been entirely eradicated from the New Testament.⁴⁴ Possibly one of the earliest, and certainly one of the most interesting, Old Testament survivals occurs in Ps. 68:13 f. in a passage which, in the original, defies interpretation without reference to the symbolism of the fertility cultus. There are many indications that certain elements of this psalm are older than the Hebrew monarchy, and the relation of these to the festivals of this Canaanite cultus is clearly suggested in the procession passage in verses 25 ff.

⁴² See further below, pp. 166 ff.

⁴³ See below, p. 283, n. 78., and cf. R. G. Murison, "The Serpent in the Old Testament," *AJSL*, XXI (1905), 115 ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. Matt. 3:16.

The occurrence of the symbol of the sacred tree, both in the Old and New Testaments, is so well known that it is hardly necessary to do more than recall once more the story of the garden of Eden and the tree of Revelation, chapter 22, whose leaves were for "the healing of the nations." In the patriarchal narratives sacred trees are mentioned as soon as the scene shifts to Canaan. From the association of trees with the ancient outdoor sanctuaries⁴⁵ it is permissible to deduce that tree worship began there, as has often been remarked, in the animistic stage of the religious evolution. This, then, would be one of the points of easy contact between the earlier animism and the incoming polytheism.

These, and many other instances of the tenacious survival into Old Testament times of the cultus first introduced presumably by the Hyksos, have an important bearing on the larger question of the origins of Hebrew culture. The discussion of this question it will be better to defer to a later chapter. Yet this is doubtless the point at which to call attention to the following striking passage from Deuteronomy:

So watch yourself well—since you saw no form at all when Yahweh spoke to you at Horeb out of the fire—that you do not act perniciously by carving an image for yourselves in the shape of any statue, like male or female, like any animal that is on the earth, or any bird that flies in the air, or any serpent on the ground, or any fish that is in the waters under the earth; beware when you look up into the heavens and see all the hosts of the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, that you do not let yourselves be allured into paying homage to them, and serving them, which things Yahweh your God has allotted to all the peoples everywhere under the heavens.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ See Gen. 12:6; 13:18; 18:1; 35:8; etc.

⁴⁶ Deut. 4:15-19.

At this point it is permissible, also, to point to the fact that this passage actually puts a ban upon the religious art which first became widely in use in Canaan in the Middle and Late Bronze ages. The close connection between this type of art and the cultus which the writer of this passage wished to eradicate is obvious. The art was an instrument of the cult technique. It is possible, but in view of all the evidence biblical and extra-biblical, hardly probable, that in Deuteronomic times the function of such creations of art was purely symbolical, that is to say, that they were used merely to suggest ideas. But if that had been the case, the Deuteronomists could have treated art as they did sacrifice. They could have suggested other concepts for these symbols. Their uncompromising attitude to the latter, however, indicates that even in the late seventh century they still possessed, for the many, magical or talismanic powers. If such reasoning is at all valid, it follows that this would be much more the case in the Middle and Late Bronze ages. Thus the point may here be made, though it will later be further enlarged upon, that the idea that underlay the technique of this cultus was, from the first, the idea of control or coercion of the powers which operate in nature. For long centuries before this time the inhabitants of Canaan had been dependent on the soil. But with the introduction of the worship of Mother Earth, and the celestial and terrestrial powers which are related to her, there occurs in the material remains, for the first time, definite evidence of an attempt to express man's relationship to his environment in terms of anthropomorphic deities through which he might gain a larger measure of control over his own fate. Under

the drive of such an exploitive attitude to Nature human life had long since been patterned in all the great surrounding cultures; and, even before this time, the inadequacy of the pattern had been influentially perceived both on the Nile and in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. Conscience could dawn under the auspices of this way of life. But it could not brighten into the full light of moral day except under a more adequate pattern which would, at the same time, conserve the values and supplement the deficiencies of the earlier one. Many experiments looking toward this end had been and were to be made under religious auspices in different parts of the ancient Near Eastern world. But of these, none has exercised such a continuing influence upon posterity as that which was to rise in Hebrew society.

The most numerous single cult object recovered in Palestine from levels dating between 1600 and 1200 B.C., and, perhaps, also the most significant, may be described as an object of art with about as much right as one might so characterize cheap, modern plaster of Paris reproductions of the Venus de Milo. This is the small pottery image of the mother-goddess (see Fig. 18). Several types of these little clay figurines, a few inches in length, and roughly and rapidly turned out from indifferently fashioned molds, occur in Palestine. So far as evidence now

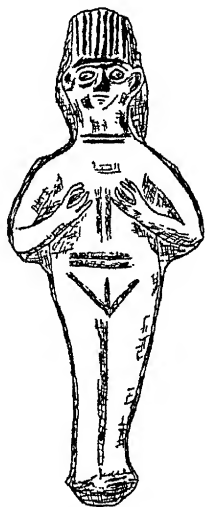


FIG. 18.—Late Bronze Age mother-goddess figurine from Megiddo. (After *OIC*, No. 4, p. 70, Fig. 49.)

available indicates, these begin to come into general use only in the closing decades of the political domination of the Hyksos, just before 1600 B.C.

Such figurines were widely and popularly used in the type of cultus generally accepted in Mesopotamia long before the period in which they first occur in Canaan. The closely analogous forms of the Mesopotamian figurines suggest that the Hyksos derived them from that region, a circumstance which could occur most naturally in view of all the little that is now known of Hyksos origins. The household gods, or *teraphim* to which reference is frequently made in the Old Testament, seem to have included such images.⁴⁷ Consequently, the tale about Rachel's bringing these household gods into Canaan from Harran, in Mesopotamia,⁴⁸ fits very well indeed with the evidence for the presence of a Jacob element among the Hyksos, as well as with the cultic remains from the Hyksos period in Canaan.

This indication of the increasing influence of the Tigris-Euphrates civilization in Canaan makes it probable that it was about the time when the mother-goddess figurines became common in Palestine that other long prominent features of the Mesopotamian cult technique began to be influential in the religion of Canaan. A custom associated with mother-goddess worship from early times in Mesopotamia, as well as elsewhere, was that known as sacred prostitution. The biblical records mention this custom first in connection with tales of the age of Jacob and Joseph.⁴⁹ The Hebrew words used in these stories for those who discharge this office are *zônâh* and *qēdēshâh*. These

⁴⁷ See Gen. 31:19, 34, 35; Judg. 17:5; I Sam. 19:13, 15; Hos. 3:4; *et passim*.

⁴⁸ Gen. 31:19 ff.

⁴⁹ See Gen. 34:31; 38:15, 21; etc.

are usually translated "harlot" and "temple prostitute," respectively, though in this period the terms were practically synonymous. Many a generation was to come and go, and a bitter cultural struggle was to be waged by an idealistic minority, before the word *zônâh* was to carry to the mind of the pious Hebrew the connotation conveyed to modern ears by the word "harlot." And even when orthodox piety had outlawed the practice, those who engaged in it continued to designate it in cultic terminology.⁵⁰ The failure of the biblical narratives to mention the *teraphim* and sacred prostitution in connection with the earlier patriarchal age, and the frankness, and even insouciance, with which they allude to it in connection with the later patriarchal and earlier historical period, is one of many examples of the faithfulness with which these traditions reflect the cultural evolution.

By the Amarna age, when Joshua and his Habiru were entering Canaan, sacred prostitution was well established as an institution with definite social and cultic functions. Among the former was that of offering hospitality to transients.⁵¹ The chief cultic function of the sacred prostitute was the part she played in the ritual of the marriage of the god and goddess.⁵² That this was the case in Mesopotamian religion has long been known.⁵³ And the recent

⁵⁰ See Prov. 7:14.

⁵¹ Cf. Josh. 2:1 ff. This story quite faithfully represents the harlot as a believer in deity and as devoted, above all, to the deity who insured physical security and material success. Thus it faithfully reflects the philosophy of life which underlay the type of religion in which the sacred prostitute flourished.

⁵² See below, p. 133.

⁵³ See, for instance, C. J. Gadd, "Babylonian Myth and Ritual," in *Myth and Ritual* (ed. S. H. Hooke), pp. 40 ff.

discovery of a tablet referring to ritual marriage as practiced in this age in northern Syria makes it almost completely safe to draw the analogy for Palestine. Indeed, one may venture to say that, where sacred prostitution had become institutionalized, the ritual would normally include the divine marriage, or something corresponding to or developed from it. In later times the social and cultic functions of these sacred women became confused, and the office was correspondingly degraded.⁵⁴ There is no reason to believe, however, that such was the case in the earlier stages of the evolution of this cultus.

One would doubtless come much closer to doing justice to this phase of the developing mother-goddess cultus, in which the figurines become so prominent and the marriage ritual so important, by saying that it indicates an increasing trend toward anthropomorphism. As such it reflects a tendency of men to include man in their world-view and is, therefore, the precursor and prerequisite of what is now known as the social interest in religion. This dawning interest in man as man, which is thus reflected, is something vastly different to the collective projection of individual hopes which was all that was attained in the higher manifestations of the ancient mortuary cultus. For, in this later phase, there was cultivated a growing appreciation of the status of the human race, a sense of the social value of the individual life, which was the beginning of what is coming to be a very powerful motivation for individual conduct. One may naturally feel some revulsion against the way in which this sense of men's duty to man and of

⁵⁴ Cf. Lucian, *De dea Syria* (ed. J. Garstang; London: Constable, 1913), pp. 45 ff.

man's importance in the total scheme of things was, in that age and culture, ritualistically propounded and cultivated; but no one will deny that there are elements of eternal value in the attitude to life which is represented by the ancient command, "Be ye fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it."⁵⁵

The inadequacy of this dawning interest of men in man lay in the failure to recognize that the mere fulfilment of physical functions would not provide satisfaction for the drives which were inherent in his nature. All the symbols of this fertility religion are of such a nature that it is obvious that their effect was to lead the average person to assume that the multiplication of material goods would lead to contentment and happiness. As a striking illustration of this, no cultic object yet found will serve better than the kernos ring (see Fig. 19), which was in use in Palestine throughout the Late Bronze Age and was still in use in the Early Iron Age.

The kernos ring consists of a hollow tube, circular in shape, which served as a base upon which were set various objects symbolizing fertility. The ring itself, therefore, possibly symbolized the seasonal cycle. Similar cult objects have been found in Egypt, Crete, Syria, and even in far-off Persia.⁵⁶ The original of the accompanying illustration was found at Megiddo. In this case there were originally on the ring a cup, two doves, two pomegranates, two wine jars, and the head of a gazelle, the hollow inte-

⁵⁵ Gen. 1:26.

⁵⁶ For the Persian example, see R. Ghersham, "Pottery from a Persian Site Occupied Many Centuries B.C.: Fresh Discoveries at Syalck," *ILN*, March 16, 1935; and for bibliography, cf. H. G. May, *OIP*, XXVI (1935), pp. 17 f.

riors of which opened into the hollow interior of the tube. This object was used, as seems most likely, in some rite of libation. When enough liquid was poured into the cup, all the hollow objects on the ring would be filled and the liquid would finally pour from the mouth of the gazelle. The objects found on this ring were, without exception,

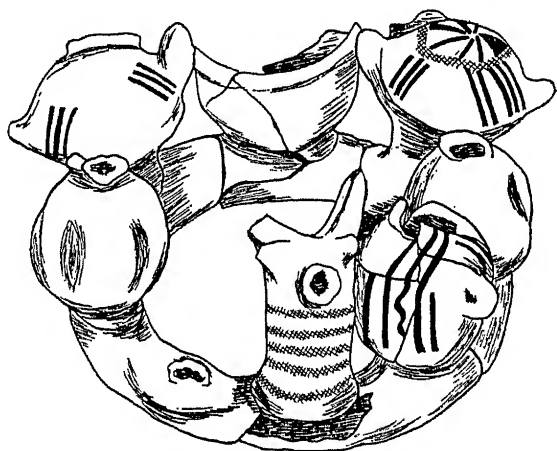


FIG. 19.—Kernos ring from Megiddo. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XVI.)

typical symbols of mother-goddess fertility worship. The pomegranates and gazelles were as prominent symbols as the doves and the wine jars. The pomegranate was used in the decoration of Solomon's temple⁵⁷ and, like the oxen beneath the sea of bronze, was part of the popular religious symbolism of the day. The superscription of the twenty-second Psalm indicates that it was to be used "upon, on account of, or concerning, the *hind*⁵⁸ of Shahaṛ." The possible significance of this expression may ap-

⁵⁷ I Kings 7:18 ff.

⁵⁸ I.e., an animal of the *Gazella* species.

pear at a later point in this volume,⁵⁹ where it will be suggested that the word *Shahar* is connected with the seasonal crisis known as the winter solstice, when the world begins to rise from darkness and death to light and life. It will be recalled that the greater, and probably the earlier, part of this Psalm deals with the sufferings of the Messiah, who has been defeated and discredited and is nigh unto total extinction, as life in the earth seemed to be in the long, dark days immediately preceding the passing of the solstice. There is much reason to believe that the earlier parts of this Psalm were originally derived from a liturgy pronounced either during this season or in allusion to this season. If one were to assume that water was the liquid poured into such a kernos ring, it might not be too far-fetched, in view of the presence of wine jars on the ring, to see in the conception underlying this the remote origins of the story of the miracle of Cana in Galilee, when Jesus, the Messiah, turned water into wine at a marriage feast.⁶⁰

The inadequacy of this attitude which stresses the status of man as subduer and exploiter of the forces which make for *physical life* lies in the fact that of itself it does not lead him to see that he must include himself in those forces which he is to subdue. Any world-view which leads to the overstressing of human supremacy in the scheme of things engenders in men the humors which belie it. Since, as experience proves, man will never subdue the earth until he subdues himself, it follows that he will not enjoy the mastery he might until he has found, somewhere in the totality of things, that to which he can subject himself in reverent obedience, a need which is amply provided for in the creation story of Genesis, chapter 1.

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 130 ff.

⁶⁰ John 3:1 ff.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORDERING OF FAITH

Only through order does faith become widely influential in conditioning the social psychology and in patterning human conduct. Without the social expression which is given to a cherished range of values, and to a considered view of the nature of the world, through the social operations of the cultus, spiritual progress would be confined, as haughty spirits are wont to believe that in any case it is, to the exceptional individual of genius. Looked at as a whole, the religious process is distinctly pragmatic and the function of the idealist is not to rule but to resist stagnation. Faith must express itself in the order which corresponds to itself before it can be deepened and amplified by the facing of its own failures. The analytical and intuitive individual mind may lead in detecting and exposing its inadequacies, but its penetrativeness carries little weight till it is validated by the logic of fact and the authority of experience. This explains the generality that the creative skeptic, the individual who questions the *status quo*, is always ahead of his times.

The world-view and the expanded range of values to which Palestine was introduced through the establishment of a new type of religion under the Hyksos régime greatly stimulated the average man's sense of sociality by directing attentiveness to the processes of nature. But, fully as important as this stimulation of desire and thought were those developments on the institutional side

of life which accompanied and established the new ideal and world-view as a factor in the social process. That which symbolizes best of all this development of the executive faculty is the growing emphasis upon the temple, which implies also the emergence of a professional religious class and the development of ritual, which latter was one of the most effective instruments of social order known to the ancient world.

The temples themselves reflect the developing capacity for co-operation in constructive physical effort, the promotion of which was one of the strong points of this religion of physical productivity. It was not until the later stages of the development of this religion in Palestine that temples became common. At the present there is only one such ruin in this region which can be certainly ascribed to the Middle Bronze period. But in the Late Bronze period (1600-1200 B.C.) they become increasingly popular, and manifestly the cultus connected with them must have exercised a rapidly growing influence upon the public at large. Those urban centers in which such temples were built were doubtless seats of local administration in the days of Hyksos control, which, it should be remembered, remained influential in Palestine and Syria long after the Hyksos had been ejected from Egypt. In time some of them became the capitals of small city-states¹ in which the institution of kingship would naturally be modeled along the lines associated with this type of cultus in the greater neighboring cultures. In these the kingly office was messianic, that is to say, the king stood as an incarnation

¹ Cf. the letters from the rulers of such local states to the contemporary ruler of Egypt in the Tell el-Amarna collection.

and symbol of the fructifying, protecting, and healing powers of the consort of the mother-goddess. In whatever particulars it may differ from this earlier messianism, that which is reflected so prominently in the Old Testament is a lineal descendant from it. In the most advanced social system which goes with this cultus the royal authority received its sanction, through the cultus, in this way. This is another point which must be considered in any attempt to arrive at an understanding of the origins of Hebrew culture. The probability is so overwhelming as to be a practical certainty that Palestine had been introduced to the messianic ideology long before any distinctively Hebrew culture arose.

The single Middle Bronze temple which has so far rewarded the labors of excavators in Palestine was found at Shechem. It comes from the later days of the Hyksos domination and, as will subsequently appear, is an adaptation of the more primitive open-air shrine. The need for an improved place of worship which is thus expressed just before the hold of the Hyksos upon Palestine relaxed suggests, in accord with the little that may be learned of these people from the Egyptian records, that they were more influenced by, than influencing, the culture of the Nile. It is quite possible, of course, that the temple may have been known to the earlier Hyksos through their contacts with Mesopotamia. These, however, so far as the ruling element in this conglomeracy was concerned, were probably indirect, whereas the contact with Egypt was direct. On the whole, the evidence points to the conclusion that, while Mesopotamia stimulated most the faith of this era, Egypt was more influential in the ordering of it.²

² Cf. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 222.

That the sacred places of the early Hyksos period were of an entirely different nature is faithfully reflected in the biblical record. It represents the sanctuaries of the Middle Bronze Age as open-air shrines, as, for example, the one at Bethel, which it associates with Abraham and Jacob, the latter of whom set up there a sacred stone.³ The sanctuary at Shechem in Abrahamic times, near which there was a sacred tree,⁴ is represented as being outside the city walls.⁵ The sanctuary at Jerusalem in the same age was also outside the city,⁶ and not until the time of Solomon were the walls extended to include the shrine area.⁷ In this age the "house of God" is a stone,⁸ or perhaps a tree; and not until the age of the Judges do the Old Testament records speak of temples.

The Middle Bronze Age temple at Shechem, to which reference has just been made, is interesting as an example of the earliest effect of the influence of the great neighboring cultures on Canaan in this respect. The altar of this temple and a pedestal, on which possibly stood an image, were located in a large, central, unroofed court. Inclosing the latter on all sides were nine rooms, which probably served as storerooms, chambers for the shrine attendants, and possibly also as halls of cultic hospitality and feasting.⁹ The general nature of the cultus which operated here

³ Gen. 12:6-8; 28:18.

⁵ Gen. 33:18-20.

⁴ Cf. Gen. 12:6.

⁶ Gen. 14:17 ff.; Psa. 76:3.

⁷ See R. A. S. Macalister and G. Duncan, "Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, 1923-25," *PEFA*, 1926, pp. 12 ff.; R. A. S. Macalister, "Second Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem," *PEFQS*, LVI (1924), 27 ff.; cf. G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (4th ed.), pp. 206 ff.

⁸ Gen. 28:17, 22.

⁹ G. Welter, "Stand der Ausgrabungen in Sichem," *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts*, 1932, p. 314.

may be inferred from the fact that a stone phallus was found near by.¹⁰ From the architecture of this earliest temple it is possible to see that the older native mode at first strongly influenced the innovation in the matter of the place of worship, since this temple is, to a large extent, an adaptation of the ancient outdoor high place. If this is the case in Palestine, where the earlier cultus was overwhelmed with comparative rapidity by the later one, it might be expected that, in the great cultures where the evolution to the temple first occurred, the same would be true to an even greater extent. Possibly the form of the rows of supporting pillars and capitals which uphold the roof in the usual temple derive from the trunks and lower foliage of the trees which surrounded the ritual court or clearing in some very primitive sacred places.

The labors of the excavator have brought to light in Palestine several interesting examples of Late Bronze Age temples. A study of the remains of these buildings and of the surviving objects associated with them cannot fail to leave the impression that in this age the influence of the great neighboring cultures, especially those of Mesopotamia and of the Nile Valley, was brought to bear more directly on this area. The world's way of life was being more firmly than ever imposed on Canaan; nor is it difficult to see why this is so. While the Hyksos power remained of imperial status, their wide political connections made for such an interpenetration of cultures; and Palestine, by reason of its location, became a natural focal point of diverse cultural influences. After the collapse of their

¹⁰ G. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* (Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1933), p. 65.

authority this clashing of influences was intensified, because the Hyksos adventure had made the entire Near Eastern world, and especially Egypt, conscious of the strategic importance of the Syro-Palestinian corridor, which, from this time on, became a bone of contention between the great powers. It is, perhaps, a sound generalization that it was the audacious success of the Hyksos which stimulated the rise in the Near Eastern world of genuine, conscious, political imperialism; and in such an age any strategic and debatable area is bound to experience diverse cultural influences.

The symbolism of the religious art of the early Hyksos period suggests that a heavy influence was exercised through it, by Mesopotamia, during the earlier stages of the introduction of mother-goddess worship. Some of it whose affinities with neighboring cultures cannot be readily detected may be tentatively designated as Hyksos. But Mesopotamian influence seems to predominate, and it may be said that this region was the base from which fertility worship first established itself in Palestine. That the advantage thus gained by Mesopotamia was never lost down to the close of the Late Bronze Age is suggested by the previous discussion of mother-goddess figurines. On the other hand, the influence of Egypt rises sharply in this latter age, and nowhere is it more manifest than in this matter of temples. From this it may be deduced that Egyptian religion, with its long-established, elaborate, and well-organized ritualism, did much to stimulate the emphasis upon the formal cultus which appears to have been a feature of this period. And this influence, in turn, doubtless helped greatly to promote the effectiveness, as

an instrument of social control, of the worship of fertility which had first come to Palestine, ultimately from Mesopotamia, through the Hyksos. Certainly a large and influential place in the social system of Canaan during this age must be posited for the cult of the mother-goddess and her consort.

Several temples of the Late Bronze Age are known to students of Palestinian archaeology. Most of these have been so frequently described that it is not necessary here to discuss them in detail. The illustration of the points raised in the preceding paragraph will have been adequately provided for if attention is now drawn to certain temples which were utilized during this age, at Beth-Shan, at what is possibly the site of ancient Lachish¹¹ and at Shechem.

At Beth-Shan temples were unearthed in four different Late Bronze strata, beginning with the stratum which is contemporary with the reign of the Pharaoh Thutmose III of Egypt (1479-1447 B.C.). In this city there were two temples. One was dedicated to a mother-goddess whose functions were symbolized by the snake. To the south of it was a companion temple dedicated to the god Mekal (Egyptian M-k-r) whose image was engraved on a limestone stele which was found near by (see Fig. 20). The inscription on the stele is in Egyptian hieroglyphs. It informs the reader that the stele was made for Amen-em-Apt, builder of the temple, by his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb. On the stele there is also an Egyptianized depiction of a bearded, seated deity wearing a headdress to which two horns are attached. This possibly indicates the associa-

¹¹ I.e., modern Tell ed-Duweir.

tion of the bull with the cultus, in which case it is one of the earliest examples of such an association in Canaan.

The name of the god, Mekal, is not entirely unknown, though only in later times. There it is compounded with



FIG. 20.—Stela of Mekal, Lord of Beth-Shan. (After A. Rowe, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History*, Pl. XXXIII.)

Resheph. The latter was, among other things, a war god. But when worshiped as chief deity of a town, he would also, of necessity, be a vegetation deity.¹² Mekal was thus

¹² Ishtar was conceived both as goddess of war and of fertility within the limits of a single poem.

the same sort of a deity as Resheph, and the suggestion has been made that the archangel Michael is a partially depotentized survival of the deity, Mekal.¹³ It is highly probable that Mekal's consort, who was worshiped in the neighboring mother-goddess temple, was known as Anath. This appears from the fact that the two chief deities worshiped in a later temple¹⁴ on this site were Anath and Resheph.

The very complexity of the temple of Mekal (see Fig. 21) suggests the elaborate ritual which was now, except perhaps in remoter rural districts, replacing the simple rites of the common meal sacrifice, the libation, and the more informal and loosely regulated rites of fertility worship, at the local outdoor sanctuaries.¹⁵ This temple had a large courtyard in which were two table-like structures of brick separated by a brick pedestal. Its inner sanctuary was furnished with two altars—one of brick, the other of stone—which were perhaps used, the one for votive offerings consisting of symbolical objects, and the other for meat offerings. To the south of this inner sanctuary was a room in which there was a great stepped altar on which animals were sacrificed and offered as burnt offerings. This altar was equipped with a channel by which the blood of the sacrificial offering was drained off, possibly to be sprinkled on the worshipers. South of this room

¹³ J. M. P. Smith, "Palestinian Archaeology and Religion," *AJSL*, XLVIII (1932), 208; and cf. A. H. Rowe, "The Expedition at Beisan" *MJ*, XLIX (1928), 150, 155. It is possible that Saul's daughter Michal was named in honor of this deity.

¹⁴ Contemporary with the reign of Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.).

¹⁵ The nature of the ritual which was probably in use in this temple will be suggested below in a brief discussion of the Ras Shamra inscriptions.

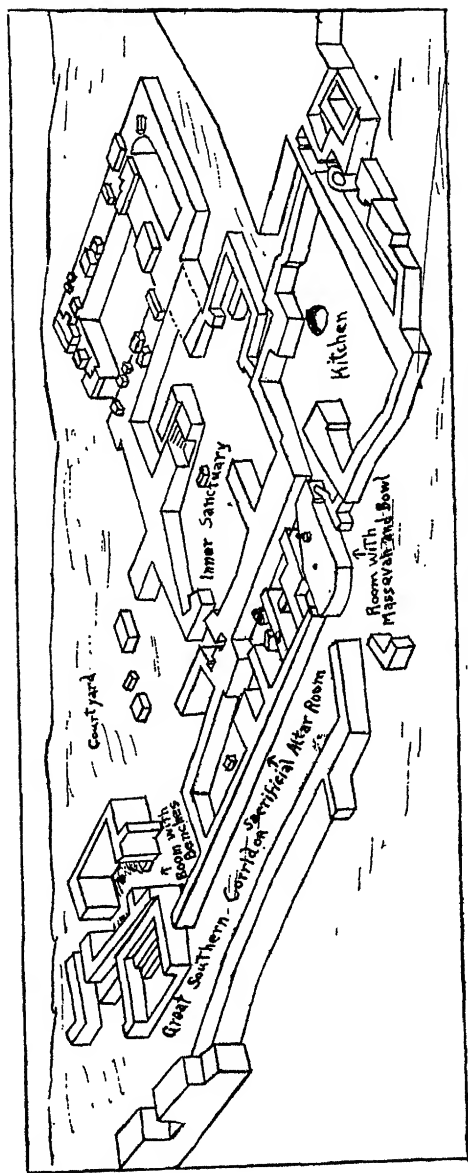


FIG. 21.—Temple of Thutmose III at Beth-Shan. (After *PEFQS*, Vol. LXII, Pl. I)

and off the great court was a corridor in which there was another large stepped altar. Off it, in turn, and behind the altar, opened a room around the walls of which were benches. Here there was also a basalt baetyl, or bethel.

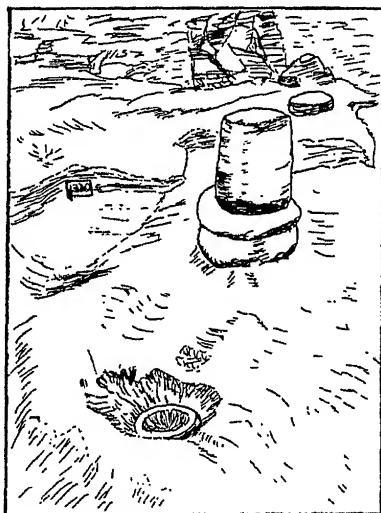


FIG. 22.—Sacred stone and libation bowl in the Temple of Mekal. (After A. Rowe, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History*, Pl. XXII, 1.)

Near the eastern end of the corridor there was still another room, in which were found a *maṣṣēvâh*, or sacred pillar, and a libation bowl (see Fig. 22).¹⁶ Père Vincent

¹⁶ For a description of these temples see A. H. Rowe, "The Expedition at Beisan," *MJ*, XVIII (1927), 417 ff.; and *ibid.*, XIX (1928), 145 ff., and XX (1929), 37 ff. Rowe mentions also pig cult objects in connection with these Beth-Shan temples (*ibid.*, XIX, 147). This latter feature would tend to support the views of Vincent and Rowe concerning the development of this temple from an ancient pre-Hyksos shrine. See also A. Rowe, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 10 ff.

and Mr. Rowe have advanced the plausible opinion that the objects found in this room are reminiscent of an ancient shrine or high place and indicate the evolution of the temple from such, under Hyksos influence.¹⁷ In the eastern part of the temple there was a kitchen with a circular oven, the prototype of the modern church kitchen.

Among the objects found in this Mekal temple may be mentioned a sacrificial dagger, the horns of a bull which was approximately three years old (see I Sam. 1:24), a libation chalice, a Cretan altar of basalt, several mother-goddess figurines, some lamps, a dish decorated with drawings of gazelles, some clay models of offering cakes, and a flat gold pendant with an incised representation of the mother-goddess in the nude.

All these, as well as other features of the temple and its contents, indicate a highly developed ritual and clearly suggest a cultus technique which addressed itself to the achievement of control of the supernatural forces which operate in nature as the way to a more satisfactory adjustment of man to his environment.

In the level at Beth-Shan, which was contemporary with the reign of the Pharaoh Ramses II, under whose leadership Egypt displayed an aggressive interest in the affairs of the Syro-Palestinian corridor, were also found two temples (see Fig. 23). A stele connected with one of these has been found. It was dedicated by an Egyptian in the following words: "May the king give an offering. Antit, may she give all life, strength, and health, to the

¹⁷ A. H. Rowe and L. H. Vincent, "New Light on the Evolution of Canaanite Temples as Exemplified by Restorations of the Sanctuaries Found at Beth-Shan," *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 12 ff.; cf. A. H. Rowe, *MJ*, XIX (1928), 147-49.

ka of Here-Nekht." The patron goddess is also characterized in the text as "Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods." In the light of such an inscription the late Professor J. M. P. Smith's rendering of Hos. 14:8, "What more hath Ephraim any need of idols? I am his Anath and his

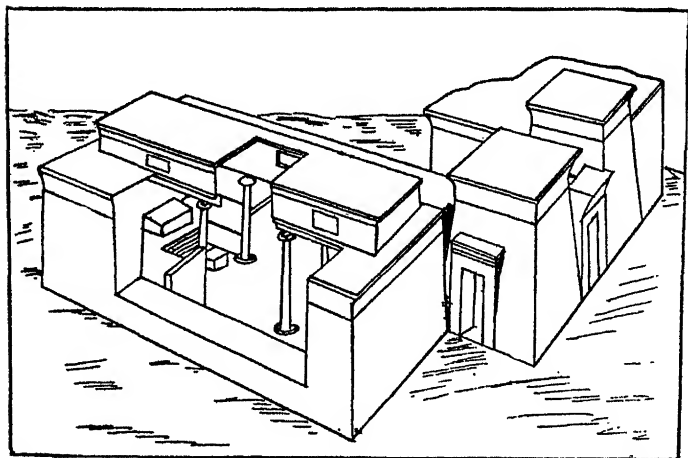


FIG. 23.—Reconstruction of the Temple of Anath at Beth-Shan. (After *PEFQS*, Vol. LXII, Pl. III, Fig. 4.)

Asherah; I am like a green fir tree; from me is his fruit found," is very convincing indeed.¹⁸ It was in this temple that the model pottery shrine, with its dove, snake, and lion symbolism, to which reference has previously been made, was found.

Probably also associated with a temple, which, however, has not been as yet unearthed, Professor Albright found at Debir (or Kirjath-Sepher) the image of a lion

¹⁸ Cf. American translation, *ad loc.* For references to the goddess as "Queen of Heaven," see Jer. 7:18; 44:19.

and a stone table for offerings, which was decorated with a lion's head (see Fig. 24).¹⁹

Another Late Bronze temple, contemporary with eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty times in Egypt has been discovered at Tell ed-Duweir (possibly Lachish) (see Fig. 25). This temple also had an altar room. Among other things this room held a three-step altar of mud brick beside which was a large pottery offering stand, benches for holding offerings ranged around and near the walls, and lamps which were placed in recesses in the walls.²⁰ The temple was built during the reign of Amenhotep III and used until the middle of the reign of Ramses II. Later excavations revealed that it had been built on the site of an earlier sanctuary, since there were discovered, 30 inches below it, the remains of a structure the plan of which was identical, save that the benches were of stone finished with a coating of mud.²¹

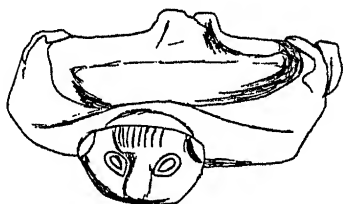


FIG. 24.—Table of offerings from Tell Beit Mirsim. (After BASOR, No. XXXIX, p. 8.)

Brief reference should also be made to a Late Bronze-Early Iron temple discovered at Shechem. This was doubtless the temple of *Baal B'rith*, Lord of the Cove-

¹⁹ W. F. Albright, "The Third Campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim," BASOR, No. 39 (1930), pp. 5-7; see also his *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 93 ff.

²⁰ J. L. Starkey, "Excavations at Tell Duweir, 1933-34," PEFQS, LXVI (1934), 164 ff.

²¹ See Starkey, *ibid.*, LXVII (1935), 200.

nant, which figures in the story of Abimelech,²² who destroyed it about 1100 B.C.²³ As in the case of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem, the altar of this Shechemite edifice stood in the open in front of the sacred building itself,

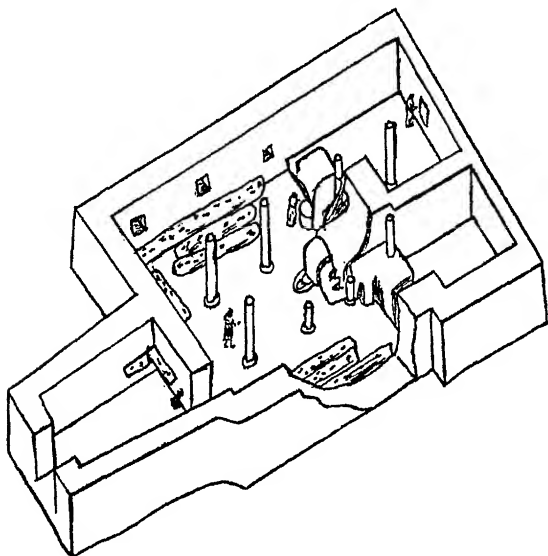


FIG. 25.—Partial reconstruction of Late Bronze Age temple at Lachish. (After *PEFQS*, Vol. LXVI, Pl. V, Fig. 2.)

possibly another example of the surviving influence of the earlier open-air shrines on temple architecture. There was also a pillar on either side of the entrance to the temple, which recalls at once the Jachin and Boaz pillars which stood before Solomon's royal chapel. The roof was likewise supported by six pillars ranged in two rows, and between the two central ones stood the statue of the deity.

²² Judg., chaps. 8 and 9.

²³ Judg. 9:46-48.

That the site had been sacred before the erection of this temple is further suggested by the fact that a cave was discovered immediately below the building.²⁴

This evidence from the temples cannot fail to create a distinct impression of the growth in complexity of the Canaanite cultus, especially as practiced in the more important urban centers, during the Late Bronze Age. This complexity, however, did not reflect confusion so much as a reaching-out for order. The instinct for order is reflected in the emphasis on myth and ritual. In the endeavor to arrive at, and through these vehicles to express, a view of the world, there emerged a Canaanite literature of which the Hebrew literature in the Old Testament became the heir. And this need of a literary vehicle for the expression and conservation of the emerging philosophy of life very possibly had something to do with the invention of the alphabet which contributed so largely to the meeting of the need itself.

The Egyptians had learned to make use of an alphabet before such a device was ever thought of among the neighboring Semitic-speaking peoples to the east. But in Egypt the alphabet had never been divorced from the earlier and more cumbersome ideographic and syllabic chirography in which one sign might stand for an entire word or for a syllable. So far as is at present known, the earliest alphabet, properly so called, had been invented probably in the latter part of the period covered by the Middle Bronze Age of Palestinian culture. It was based

²⁴ E. Sellin, "Die Ausgrabung von Sichem," *ZDPV*, XLIX (1926), 309 ff.; L (1927), 205 ff.; LI (1928), 119 f. See also W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 56, for a discussion of this find.

upon the acrophonic (peak of sound) principle, that is to say, the sign which in ideographic writing would symbolize an object was made to stand for the initial consonantal sound of that word. Thus, for example, the sign which symbolizes the consonants *b* or *v* was originally a picto-

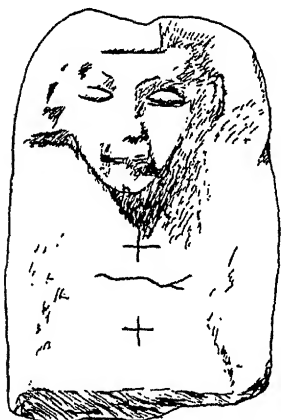


FIG. 26.—Statuette from Sinai, inscribed *t-n-t*, "gift." (After K. Lake, *et al.*, *HTR*, Vol. XXV (1932), Pl. XIII, No. 345.)

graph of a house the usual name of which, in the Semitic tongues, is *bēth* or, in some circumstances, *vēth*.

The oldest specimens of this kind of alphabetic writing come from Wady Serabit in the peninsula of Sinai, where they were found many years ago by Sir W. M. F. Petrie (see Fig. 26).²⁵ It fits very well indeed with the evidence for great cultural change and progress in the lands adjacent to the east coast of the Mediterranean during the Middle and Late Bronze ages that the invention of this alphabet occurred during the former of these periods. That the cultus which came into these regions with this higher religion played some part in stimulating this invention is perhaps indicated by the fact that these "Old Sinitic Inscriptions" are cultic in character. They seem to have been written at a time when some Semitic group, possibly Edomites or Canaanites, was working the tur-

²⁵ See his *Explorations in Sinai* (London: J. Murray, 1906).

quoise and copper mines on the Wady Serabit under the control of Egyptians. Consequently the idea of an alphabet may have been suggested, in the first place, by the alphabetic features of the contemporary Egyptian hieroglyphic writing.

The translation of these inscriptions, which are incised in rock, is still largely problematical. Certain words and phrases, however, have been deciphered beyond doubt. The phrases "gift to Baalat" and "beloved of Baalat," which are among these, clearly indicate votive inscriptions.²⁶ Baalat is the mother-goddess, the consort of Baal. Consequently, the cultus reflected in these ancient writings must have been similar to the mother-goddess cultus which was contemporaneously developing in Palestine.

This Sinaitic alphabet came into use in the latter region in the late Middle Bronze Age. Inscriptions in this script dating from this and from the Late Bronze Age have been found on potsherds at Tell el-Hesi (Eglon), Tell Jezari (Gezer), Ain Shems (Beth Shemesh), and Tell ed-Duweir

²⁶ On the decipherment and translation of these inscriptions see the following: A. H. Gardiner, and T. E. Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* (London and Boston: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1917); H. Grimme, *Alt-hebraische Inschriften vom Sinai* (Hanover: H. Lafaire, 1923); K. Lake, R. P. Blake, and R. F. Butin, "The Serabit Inscriptions, II," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI (1928), 1 ff.; M. Sprengling, *The Alphabet, Its Rise and Development from the Sinai Inscriptions*, OIC, No. XII (1931); J. Siegal, "The Date and Historical Background of the Sinaitic Inscriptions," *AJSL*, XLIX (1933), 46 ff.; B. L. Ullmann, "How Old Is the Greek Alphabet," *AJA*, XXXVIII (1934), 359 ff. For an excellent study of the alphabet, cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 90 ff.; T. H. Gaster, "The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy," *PEFQS*, LXVII (1935), 128 ff.

(possibly Lachish).²⁷ Of these the late Middle Bronze inscription from Gezer and two from Tell ed-Duweir, probably to be dated to the nineteenth dynasty of Egypt, are the more important. Although the decipherment of the latter is uncertain, it is quite possible that one of these Tell ed-Duweir inscriptions contains allusions to the deities Shor, Mot, and Elat, who occur also in the Ras Shamra inscriptions.²⁸ Tomb inscriptions from Gebal, on the Phoenician coast, in the period of Ramses II, are also written in the same primitive script. Thus, before the end of the age here under consideration, this type of writing was probably well established throughout Canaan and Phoenicia; and in the course of time, a later style of it was used to indite the literature of the Old Testament. From its original home this alphabet was taken over by the Greeks, who transmitted it to the West, behind whose modern alphabet it lies.

To the fact that this Sinaitic alphabet lent itself readily to writing on such quickly disintegrated materials as papyrus and parchment is due, in large part, the circumstance that so few ancient examples of its use survive. Much more fortunate is the outcome of the invention of another set of characters, also on the acrophonic principle, somewhat later than the rise of the old Sinaitic alphabet.

²⁷ Cf. L. H. Vincent, "Découverte épigraphique à Beth Shemesh," *RB*, XXXIX (1930), 401 ff.; W. R. Taylor, "Some New Palestinian Inscriptions," *BASOR*, No. 41 (1931), pp. 27 ff.; J. L. Starkey, *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), Pl. IX.

²⁸ E. Burrows, "The Tell Duweir Inscription," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 179 f. Another inscription, giving two additional new letters, has recently been found on a bowl from Tell ed-Duweir. See *PEFQS*, LXVII (1935), 104, and Pl. XVI, Fig. 1.

This cuneiform alphabet was possibly based upon, or at least influenced by, the latter; but the characters employed to represent various consonantal peaks of sound were made of cuneiform wedges, an indication that the region in which they originated was under strong Mesopotamian influence. Since these characters were employed for pressure writing on clay which was later baked, the inscriptions written in them were more durable.

To the durability of such a mode of writing is owed the recent discovery of documents which are proving of inestimable value in the attempt to understand the ideology which underlay the cultus of Canaan in the heyday of its first achievement of what was approximately a genuine pattern of culture. These inscriptions do not come from Palestine itself. They were found on the Syrian coast at Ras Shamra not far from Laodicea, at a site known in ancient times as Ugarit. They are written in a dialect of what may be called the Canaanite language. The date of their composition cannot be precisely determined. It is clear that their origin is not later than the thirteenth century B.C. But Professor Barton's belief that they may be as early as the age of Abraham and Melchizedek seems somewhat vulnerable in view of the evidence discussed in this chapter to the effect that the full-fledged mother-goddess cultus, with its relatively elaborate mythology and ritual, does not appear in Canaan till late Middle Bronze times. It is true, of course, that since this site lies in northern Syria, and relatively close to Mesopotamia, it may have felt the cultural influences carried by the Hyksos movement somewhat earlier than these were felt

in Palestine. But, even so, it seems safe to say that these inscriptions must have been written subsequently to the turn of the eighteenth century.³⁰

Many links connect the language and culture of this north Canaanite community with those of southern Canaan. Not the least of these is a small votive(?) inscription, in the same script and tongue, discovered at Beth Shemesh.³¹ But one has to appreciate to some extent the bearing of these Ras Shamra inscriptions on the whole body of previously existing evidence concerning the nature and distribution of this Canaanite-Phoenician religion before one can realize the importance of this discovery for the origins of the religious aspects of Hebrew culture.

Prior to the finding of these tablets, those who were interested in the status of religion in Palestine in the age when the Hebrews began to penetrate the country had,

³⁰ Of many important studies the following may here be mentioned: C. Virolleaud, *Syria* X, 304 ff.; XII, 193 ff., 350 ff.; XIII, 113 ff.; XIV, 128 ff.; XV, 226 ff., 305 ff.; XVI, 29 ff., 246 ff.; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 46, pp. 15 ff.; No. 50, pp. 13 ff.; *JPOS*, XII, 185 ff.; XIV, 101 ff.; G. A. Barton, *JAOS*, LII, 221 ff.; LV 31 ff.; *JBL*, LIII, 61 ff.; R. Dussaud, *Syria*, X, 297 ff.; XII, 67 ff.; *RHR*, CIV, 353 ff.; CV, 245 ff.; CXI, 5 ff.; E. Dhorme, *Syria*, X, 229 ff.; *RB*, XL, 32 ff.; J. A. Montgomery, *JAOS*, LIII, 97 ff., 283 ff.; LIV, 60 ff.; T. H. Gaster, *JRAS* 1932, pp. 857 ff.; *PEFQS*, LXVI, 141 ff.; *Ancient Egypt*, 1932, pp. 104 ff.; W. C. Graham, *JR*, XIV, 306 ff.; H. Bauer, *ZDMG*, N.F., IX, 251 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *JPOS*, XIV, 294 ff.; *ZDMG*, N.F., XIII, 173 ff.; *Baal Saphon, Zeus Kasios, Beitr. z. Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*, Vol. I; J. A. Montgomery and Z. S. Harris, *The Hebraic Mythological Texts from Ras Shamra* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1936); J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets, Their Bearing on the Old Testament* (London: T. & T. Clark, 1935).

³¹ E. Grant, "Beth Shemesh in 1933," *BASOR*, No. 52 (1933), pp. 3 ff.

indeed, some valuable sources of knowledge. But since none of these derived either from the age or the area under study, and since there was available no criterion thus validated by which to measure their value, they had to be used with the utmost caution. The evidence bearing directly on the question was chiefly to be derived from later Greek and Latin writings,³² the reliability of whose sources could not be tested except in so far as this could be done by the use of contemporary inscriptional data emanating from religious circles in those surrounding nations which could reasonably be believed to have had similar cultures. The Old Testament, though little of it was of contemporary authorship, could be used if due allowance were made for the prejudices and preconceptions of its writers. But, unfortunately, there was no yardstick by which to measure the influence of these. Consequently an overcautious literary criticism was disposed to look down its nose at a cultural approach to the Old Testament writings. All this bids fair to be changed by the finding of the Ras Shamra inscriptions. The supplementary data bearing on Canaanite religion may now be used with greater confidence. It appears to be a practical certainty that the essential identity of the ideal, ideology, and cultus technique of the Canaanite-Phoenician religion with those of the religions which were dominant in the great neighboring cultures will be established. The way of the world came, at long last, to be in nearly all essentials the way of Canaan. When the "Hebrew" tribes thrust themselves into that region, they encountered a social psychology and an institutional structure which,

³² As, e.g., those of Lucian, Philo of Byblos, Plutarch, etc.

so far as was possible in a region physically so situated and conformed, was one with the greater civilized world about it. This, of course, does not mean that there were not many local cultural backwaters in which earlier and simpler ideals, ideas, and customs still persisted. But it does mean that all the economically, politically, and socially influential elements of the population were conformed to this pattern.

The language of certain parts of these texts from Ras Shamra makes it appear practically certain that they constitute a liturgy which was enacted as it was recited. This finds many parallels in the religious literature of other areas of the Near East as, for example, the folk presentation of the life of Osiris in Middle Kingdom days in Egypt.³³ By the enactment of the accompanying drama the worshipers felt themselves to be reinforcing the power of the spoken word to influence the forces of nature so that the normal seasonal cycle might be maintained for the preservation and enrichment of human life. The psychology underlying this technique was one of coercion and manipulation, and the world-view which supported it was actually anthropocentric.

There is much reason to believe that the ideology and cultus technique of mother-goddess shrines and temples in Palestine proper, in the period under consideration, was substantially the same as those of this north Syrian shrine. Anath and Mekal (Resheph) of Beth-Shan, for example, were doubtless worshiped in this rite. Professor Meek has made out a convincing case in support of the

³³ See J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York: Scribners, 1933), pp. 244 ff.; cf. pp. 94 ff. *et passim*. See also S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 29 ff.

contention that the Book of Canticles is a survival from a similar liturgy.³⁴ Many more recent studies go far to support the view that the influence of this rite persisted, not only in many local centers of worship but even in the temple at Jerusalem itself, until the days of the Deuteronomic reform. It is becoming more and more clear, for example, that the prophets alluded to the great symbolical themes of this ritual and liturgy and used them to attack the ideal, ideology, and ethic to inculcate which they were utilized. In their day myth and ritual were the vehicle of philosophy; and the average man's mental inertia and uncritical, credulous faith left him as putty in the hands of those who controlled this impressive medium of propaganda. In such a situation as that of the prophets, when severe social pressures and tensions were revealing the inadequacy of a pragmatic materialism, it was inevitable that they should allude frequently to the myth and ritual which were conditioning the social psychology so that glaring social maladjustments were too easily tolerated. The adequate recognition of this in the exegetical study of many parts of the Old Testament, now long overdue, should lead to a saner and more constructive conception of the religious function in society.

That a complicated system of animal sacrifice was a part of the cultus technique at Ugarit became clear when a collection of tablets from this site, which were the first to be published by M. Virolleaud,³⁵ appeared. Space does

³⁴ "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult," *AJSL*, XXXIX (1922), 1 ff.

³⁵ "Les inscriptions cuneiformes de Ras Shamra," *Syria*, X (1929), 304 ff. The reference to an Egyptian named *Atn-prln*, chief of the priests and chief of the shepherds, in a colophon on one of the Ras Shamra tablets may be taken as evidence that the tablets come from eighteenth-dynasty

not permit the discussion of these. But it should be remarked in passing that their vocabulary shows marked affinities with the "priestly element" in the Old Testament.

Attention must here be focused on several longer inscriptions which appear to be part of a liturgy concerned with the various phases of the seasonal cycle. It is highly probable that they were all used during the rites of the great New Year festival which occurred at the time of the spring equinox. Yet, it must be remembered that the other great seasonal crises were also dealt with in the ceremony which seems, so far as one may judge from the surviving fragments of the liturgy, to have focused attention particularly on those mysterious processes of nature which take place between the autumnal and the vernal equinoxes.

The translation of these texts is still far from being satisfactorily established. But enough of their contents is now clear to permit of an attempt to show how, under the guise of stories of the gods, the priests inculcated awareness of man's dependence on the processes of nature, and how, through a cultus technique by which they professed the ability to command those processes, they cultivated in the worshiper a disposition to appreciate the natural order and, in actual life, to co-operate with it.

As has been suggested,³⁶ the first of the two larger tab-

times, possibly from the reign of Ikhnaton, protagonist of the sun god, Aton, whose name is compounded in that of this priest-shepherd. See Virolleaud, *ibid.*, XV (1934), 241 ff.

³⁶ By W. F. Albright, "The North Canaanite Poems of Aleyan Baal," *JPOS*, XIV (1934), 115 ff. So also Virolleaud, who suggests that another tablet, published in *Syria*, XV, pp. 305 ff. (=I*AB) should be placed between these two poems. See also R. Dussaud, *RHR*, CXI, 5.

lets originally translated by Virolleaud³⁷ should follow the second. They appear to deal with the death of Alein Baal, the vegetation deity, and with one of several ritual steps which must be taken to insure that he shall not be permanently vanquished by his slayer, Mot, Son of the Gods, the god of darkness and death. It is important to understand that the action which Anath, the mother-goddess consort of Alein Baal, here takes does not immediately bring about her dead lover's revival, but only helps to induce the ultimate consummation of that end. Consequently the contents of these two tablets, the highlights of which may now be suggested, relate themselves to the seasonal crisis known as autumn, and the subsequent winter months.

That Alein Baal is the deity of fructification, on whose functioning life, prosperity, and happiness depend, is clear from many indications in these tablets. For example, reference is significantly made to him as "The Rider on the Clouds"³⁸ and as "Dod."³⁹ This latter name is a title given to the youth in Canticles.⁴⁰ It is also a Palestinian form of the god name Hadad or Adad. Both of these characterizations identify Alein Baal as the fructifier.

The texts relate, then, how Alein Baal appears in the assembly of the gods to demand that he be afforded the protection of a house or temple. This request is granted readily enough by "El, The Father of Years." It seems

³⁷ Those appearing in *Syria*, XII (1931), 193 ff., and XIII (1932), 113 ff. See p. 124, n. 36.

³⁸ Cf. Ps. 68:4; Isa. 19:1.

³⁹ Cf. Isa. 5:1.

⁴⁰ Cf. Cant. 1:13, etc. The word translated "my beloved" actually is "My Dod."

clear from many indications that the latter's function is to order time in seasonal cycles, so that he is the Canaanite-Phoenician Chronos, or "Father Time." The temple is then made of cedar and embellished "with gold and silver from the hills." The text seems to indicate that many sanctuaries for Alein Baal were built. The temple of Alein was to be made of cedar and brick, and the cedar undoubtedly was to come from Lebanon. Next the house of Alein Baal is dedicated with lavish sacrificial ceremonies. Shortly after this there follows a ceremony which has to do with opening a window in the roof of the sanctuaries, which results in opening a rift in the clouds so that rains are precipitated. Many Old Testament references to "the windows of heaven" at once come to mind.⁴² It appears that Alein Baal only consents to this under duress or persuasion by some other deity. He seems to wish to retire into his temple and reign on earth permanently. But this cannot be permitted. The autumnal rains which herald his decline must be made to fall upon the earth.

Not only must Alein Baal lay down his scepter as "Rider of the Clouds," but he must, for the ultimate weal of those who depend on him, die. His foes, led by Mot, god of death, appear "in the interior of the north," where his temple stands. They are armed with piercing missiles. The god of life fights them "with his eye before his hand" and with a cedar, symbol of perennial life, in his right hand. But despite this resistance, Mot is victorious. Alein Baal is slain and descends to the land of the dead. As a result, "Shepesh, The Lady," the sun god (identical

⁴² Gen. 7:11; I Kings 18:45; Mal. 3:10.

with Hebrew, "Shemesh") is broken, which is to say, ceases to shine. Winter and darkness are about to descend upon the land, and Mot is about to assume throne and scepter over the earth.

El, however, intervenes; and a temporary substitute for Alein Baal is found. There is an interregnum between the rule of Alein Baal and the rule of Mot. The god of the interregnum descends and sits in the place of the life-giving deity "in the interior of the north." It is during this interval that Anat, sister-consort of Alein Baal, the same who was worshiped at Beth-Shan, takes the dramatic step which initiates the process by which the ultimate undoing of Mot is brought about. She seeks Mot and demands her lover, but is mocked and spurned for her pains by the boastful and triumphant lord of death.

Then suddenly the infuriated spouse of Alein Baal seizes Mot, splits him in half, winnows him, burns him in a mill, and sows his flesh in the fields for the birds to eat. Strange to say, this does not kill Mot, for at a later point in the ceremonies he is found seated on the throne of Alein Baal and lording it over the earth. It is a symbolical action, very probably the rite of the last sheaf of which there is a reminiscence in Old Testament law.⁴² Anat's act neither finally vanquishes Mot nor brings about the revival of Alein Baal. But it does insure the continuance in the latter of a spark of vitality which is capable, when proper steps are taken, of being increased until the functioning power of the god is actually restored. Though Mot does not know it, other deities are aware that the

⁴² R. Dussaud, "La mythologie phénicienne," *RHR*, CIV (1931), 389; cf. Lev. 2:14.

first step toward his ultimate defeat has been taken. One of these raises a joyful hymn of praise as follows:

For Zebul, lord of earth, had perished.
 And behold now! Alein Baal lives.
 Behold! Zebul, lord of earth, exists.
 Good news, O my son whom I have begotten,
 Heaven will rain down oil,
 And the wadies will cause honey to flow.
 And I know that Alein Baal lives.⁴³

The vegetation deity is not finally the prey of death. Though, as will later appear, much effort must be put forth to cause him to do so, he will revive and function again.

The occasion and nature of some of this effort appears from the third of the larger inscriptions published by Virolleaud.⁴⁴ Three of the ritual acts mentioned in this text appear to be definitely alluded to in the Old Testament. These are the seething of a kid in milk,⁴⁵ the cultivating and stoning of the field of the gods, and the pruning of the vines of the gods.⁴⁶

The chief participants in this section of the ritual are El, Mot, and two women. The function of El, as ruler of seasons, is here further suggested in the circumstance that one of his functions is to "put the early rains in the heavens." Mot is here represented as enthroned and wielding the scepter of "sterility" and "widowhood."

⁴³ Cf. Job 19:25, and see W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, XII (1932), 201, n. 81.

⁴⁴ *Syria*, XIV (1933), 128 ff.

⁴⁵ Exod. 34:26 and parallel passages which forbid the seething of a kid in *its mother's* milk.

⁴⁶ See Isa. 5:1 ff., where Judah is threatened, through these symbols, with economic and political decline.

The events in which these principles become involved are somewhat as follows. After El puts the early rains in the heavens, he enters into relations with the two women. The latter are referred to as "Women, Wife of El," and "Daughters, Daughter of El." To these characterizations there is added in each case a third which strongly tempts one to identify it with the word usually translated "virgin" in Isa. 7: 14. Yet the ritual plainly indicates that their real status is revealed by this relationship to El. After their supposed seduction, however, they address themselves to Mot-w-Shor, who appears to be ignorant of their relationship to El. They assure Mot that they are the means by which his power and authority may be confirmed. This is to be done by their bringing forth of two beautiful and gracious sons, and to this end the god of death then enters into the obvious relationships with them. When the children are born, Mot notifies El of the event in language which clearly indicates that he attributes their paternity to himself. He thus believes that their birth signifies the confirmation of his own authority, that is to say, the permanent rule of darkness and death. But what the event really does signify is the assertion of the authority of El, the god who rules the seasons and who will now precipitate the early or winter rains, with the coming of which the sun passes its solstice, or period of standing still, the days grow longer, and the world moves upward out of winter, darkness, and death *toward* spring, light, and life.

Though this ritual was doubtless enacted at the great spring festival, the seasonal crisis to which it alludes is not the vernal equinox but the winter solstice. For the ritual

symbolizes the frustration of Mot's design to assume permanent dominion over the earth and takes place, therefore, at a period when darkness seems to have come to stay. There can be little doubt that the winter solstice is thus indicated.

If this be the case, it might reasonably be inferred that the "two women," who are also referred to as "wife" and who give birth to Shaḥar and Shalem, represent the sun at its two solstices—the winter solstice, when hope dawns in the midst of darkness, when the critical turn takes place which leads the world up out of darkness into light; and the summer solstice, when the promise of the dawn is fulfilled in complete fruition. Thus, what happens here adumbrates and prepares the way for Alein Baal's resurrection, his reunion with Anat, and the reappearance on the earth of vegetative life, which signalizes the reawakening of all the vital powers, both of plants, animals, and men.⁴⁷

If there is any validity in this interpretation, the possibility may be suggested that the children of the two solstitial aspects of the sun are astral deities who represent stars associated by the ancients with the solstices. This would be natural enough, since they are the offspring of the god who regulates the seasons and of the chief heavenly body. That this is the case, and also that the two women are the sun, derives some support from the text itself. For, after Mot has announced to El the birth of those whom he erroneously believes to be of his own begetting, there follows the rubric: "Raise the offering unto Shep-

⁴⁷ See H. C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London: British Museum, 1861-1884), IV, 31.

esh, the lady, and unto stars."⁴⁸ That precise point in the ritual would be a most auspicious moment for such an act if the interpretation here suggested be accepted.

The deities Shaḥar and Shalem are not unknown in the Old Testament. The word Shaḥar, in Hebrew, means "dawn," that is to say, the first faint promise of the light of day. Considered as a deity name symbolizing the passing of the solstice, it would have the same relation to the annual cycle as to the diurnal. The name *Hēlēl ben Shaḥar*, which occurs in Isa. 14:12 and which is translated in the American translation as "Lucifer, Son of the Dawn," is a clever and subtle allusion to this mythology. Hosea also may be alluding to it in 10:15, where he concludes an uncomprising prediction of the fall of Israel in these words, in which he uses the name of the paganized sanctuary of Bethel as a term for the kingdom of Israel:

So shall it have been done to you, O Bethel!
Because of the evil of your evilness,
With the Shaḥar shall the king of Israel utterly perish.

Still another passage strongly reminiscent of several matters discussed in this and the preceding chapter may here be translated and left to speak for itself. As the Hebrew text stands, these words are attributed to Isaiah after his defeat on the issue of an appeal to Assyria in the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis:⁴⁹

I will bind up my testimony and seal my teaching in my disciples. And I will wait for Yahweh who is hiding his face from the house of Jacob, and will rely on him. Behold I and the children

⁴⁸ This word could have been pronounced as a dual and would then mean "the two stars."

⁴⁹ Isa. 8:16 ff.

whom Yahweh hath given me shall be for signs and portents in Israel from Yahweh of hosts who abides in Mount Zion. And when people say to you [Isaiah's disciples]: "Have recourse to the ghosts⁵⁰ and spirits that squeak and gibber! Should not a people consult its gods, have recourse, on behalf of the living, to the dead"—to the teaching and testimony!

Rest assured they will yet speak after this fashion: "He for whom there is no Shahar." And he shall pass through it [i.e. the land] sore beset and famished. And it shall come to pass that, when he is famished, he shall grow mad and shall curse his king and his gods. Then he shall turn his face to heaven, and shall gaze anxiously at the earth. But behold! distress and darkness, gloom of anguish, and impenetrable shadow.

The last paragraph of this passage causes interpreters much trouble. But, if it be remembered that in such cults as are reflected in the Ras Shamra inscriptions the king was regarded as the incarnation of the vegetation deity, it is quite possible to understand these words as a prediction that Ahaz will lose his present prestige and popularity, will, when it is too late, turn against his Assyrian overlord and his foreign gods, and yet will find no salvation elsewhere.

A fragment of a text more recently published by Virolleaud⁵¹ suggests still another of those rites which had to be performed before vitality could be restored to the world. Anat has now recovered the still-unrevived body of her lover. In the ritual this seems to have been represented by one of two wooden images. Anat, in the person of her cultic representative, begins by an act of homage to these two images and to a stele of rock. The presence of

⁵⁰ Cf. the striking parallel in the new Ras Shamra text, *Syria*, XV (1934), 226 ff., rev., l. 45.

⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 1-28.

the latter suggests that this sanctuary also developed from an earlier shrine where the rites of the "Cult of the Dead" were practiced.⁵² Next Anat caresses the cheeks and beard of Baal and "laments for her seed." She then performs an act of threefold cultivation on "the high place" (*b-m-th* = Hebrew *bâmâh*). Responding to her grief, Shephesh (the sun), at her request loads upon the shoulder of Anat the body of the unrevived deity. She then carries him "into the heights of the north" (Sapuna), which were possibly represented by the high place, and buries him there, anointing his body with "the aromatics of the gods of the earth." Following this she performs a rite which may have important bearing on the idea originally underlying animal sacrifice. For Anat uses such as a means of reviving her consort. She sacrifices, first of all, seventy wild oxen. When Alein absorbs(?) these, she follows in turn with seventy each of sheep, rams, mountain goats, and asses.⁵³ These animals were sacrificed, then, that the life that was in them might restore vegetation to the earth.

Though the texts so far published from Ras Shamra do not contain the actual liturgy for the final resurrection of Alein Baal and the marriage of the divine pair, it may now be regarded as certain that such a phase of the liturgy existed and was ritually enacted as the culminating point of the ceremonies of the great New Year's festival. Enough has now been determined about these inscriptions to make it safe to conclude that here, as in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and of Egypt, the great themes of the New

⁵² See above, p. 45.

⁵³ See above, pp. 78 f., on the sacrifice of asses at Gaza by the Hyksos.

Year's liturgy were: the death of the god, his rescue from the powers of death, his revival and resurrection, and his reunion with his faithful consort.

It is known that in the Mesopotamian cultus the recitation and enactment of the story of the destruction of the dragon of chaos at creation were a part of the ceremony. It is not hard to see why this was so, since the annual re-creation was only possible because at creation life and order were ordained. In a long poem describing the death of Alein Baal⁵⁴ occurs the following passage: "Baal answered 'I will pierce you . . . as you have smitten Lotan [i.e., Leviathan], the fleeing serpent, as you have consumed [*tkly*] the winding serpent, possessor of seven heads.'"⁵⁵ This monster, Leviathan, as the Old Testament attests, is associated with a cosmogony which was widely current in the ancient Near East. Leviathan may be equated with the Babylonian dragon Tiamat. The story of Marduk's subjugation of Tiamat is probably the best known of these creation myths, to which family also belong the story of St. George and the Dragon, and the tale of Bel and the Dragon in the apocryphal portions of the Book of Daniel.

Leviathan occurs in a fragment of an ancient creation poem now incorporated in Psalm 74.⁵⁶

O Elohim, my king from of old,
Who wrought a victory in the midst of the earth,
It was thou that didst divide by thy power the sea;

⁵⁴ Or, possibly, Alein and Baal? This possibility is suggested by the recently published text I* AB (*Syria*, XV, 305 ff.), but it is at present impossible to decide its validity.

⁵⁵ *Syria*, XV (1935), 305 ff. (=I* AB, I, ll. 26-29).

⁵⁶ Vss. 12-17. See also Ps. 104:26 and Job 3:8; 40:25.

Thou didst crush dragon heads upon the waters;
 It was thou that didst shatter the heads of the Leviathan;
 Thou didst give him as food to the desert beasts;
 Thou didst cleave fountain and brook;
 It was thou who dried up unfailing waters.
 Day was yours, and also night was yours;
 You yourself established light and sun;
 You fixed all the boundaries of the earth;
 As for summer and winter you formed them.

In Isa. 27:1 there is an interesting picture of Yahweh, with sword in hand, destroying Leviathan, "the fleeing and coiled serpent," "the dragon that is in the sea." Another name for this dragon of chaos was Rahab.⁵⁷ In the Ras Shamra texts occur certain references to Daniel.⁵⁸ When one remembers that it is evident, not only from the Greek additions to the Book of Daniel, but also from Ezek. 28:2 ff., that in later times the figure of this worthy was associated with a cosmogony of this type, the fact that allusion is made to Daniel in these inscriptions renders it practically certain that at Ras Shamra this theme of the reduction of chaos to order was well known. The affinities between this type of cosmogony and the creation story of Genesis, chapter 1, are so striking that they cannot be accidental. If such a creation story was part of the myth and ritual of this ancient north Canaanite shrine, it is quite possible also that it was known, in a similar version, in Palestine during the age under discussion. Consequent-

⁵⁷ Ps. 89:9-12; Isa. 51:9. See O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1932). Cf. also the very important article by G. R. Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LIV (1934), 40 ff. and esp. 53.

⁵⁸ See W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, XII (1932), 208.

ly the present Genesis, chapter 1, may be but the latest cultic version of this ancient myth which was part of the cultural heritage derived from Canaanite civilization by the Hebrews. In this case Genesis, chapter 1, strikingly illustrates the really great achievement of the latter, which was not the overthrow of an ancient culture but the transformation of one through deepening spiritual insight and widening mental horizons deriving from the cultivation of the attentive or religious attitude to life. The important question is not whether they borrowed from other groups. Indeed, absence of cultural borrowing is the hall mark of intellectual and spiritual inertia. But the acid test of the borrower is the use he made of the loan; and if Genesis, chapter 1, is any criterion, the Hebrew people need not fear that test.⁵⁹

During the Middle and Late Bronze ages, then, the inhabitants of Canaan took their first steps in faith and order under the tutelage of the religions of their more-advanced neighbors. It is highly possible, of course, that

⁵⁹ A new text from Ras Shamra, entitled by Virolleaud "La révolte de Kasher contre Baal: Poème de Ras Shamra III AB, A," has just appeared in *Syria*, XVI (1935), 29 ff. It consists of a single column of 40 lines. Kasher is judge or ruler (*sh-p-t*) over the waves. He possesses a span (*š m d m*) of horses(?) (or two staffs. See H. L. Ginsberg "The Victory of the Land-God over the Sea-God," *JPOS*, XV [1935], 327 ff.) He demands that Alein fight against his enemies, the Baalim, and thus gain perpetual rule. Alein apparently refuses and is then attacked by Kasher. The goddess Bod-Baal assists Alein, and she and he defeat Kasher. But Alein is, nevertheless, chided by Astarte, apparently because he did not fight against the Baalim. The ending is obscure. The authors have, as yet, been unable to study this text carefully. Another poem of 62 lines, entitled by Virolleaud "Les chasses de Baal," is published in the same volume, pp. 247 ff.

many of the more isolated and unfavored rural districts remained throughout relatively impervious to the influence of the developing Canaanite culture. It is certainly true, moreover, that even in those areas which were most affected by it nothing like the cultural achievements of the great valley civilizations was ever attained. But even so, for Canaan as a whole this was a great age in which the intellectual and executive capacities of its people were notably stimulated.

The part that religion played in this had two important aspects. The first was philosophical in character. Religion brought to Canaan in this age, for the first time, a genuine and relatively comprehensive world-view. It caused men to explore, to the best of their ability, the nature of the natural environment which conditioned their existence. It stimulated them to investigate the grounds on which their hopes might rest.

This world-view was not explicitly formulated as such. It was rather implied through those conceptions of divine beings in which the perceptions of the processes of nature were expressed. It was further implied in the attitudes to the gods underlying the technique of the cultus. If the Ras Shamra texts may be taken as a guide to these conceptions and attitudes, then it is clear that this culture was dominated by a pragmatic philosophy. Its deities are never conceived as transcendent and absolute beings. They are immanent and anthropomorphic beings who reflect the uncertainties of human experience, yet at the same time mirror a dawning sense of deeper certainties. It is significant, too, that there is very little of nationalistic coloring in the god-conceptions of this age and place.

These gods do not reflect political particularism to any marked extent, whether national or local. Anat was equally at home at Ugarit, or at Beth-Shan, or at Anathoth, or at Beth-Anat, or in many other places. So likewise in the case of the parallel Egyptian goddess, Hathor. She was as much at home at Denderah as at Byblos or at many other locations. Bronze images of Resheph have been found, among other sites, at Ras Shamra, Megiddo, and Gezer. Astarte was known in widely separated parts of the land. These deities had much more of an economic than of a political coloring. They reflect the concern of their worshipers with the basic drives of appetite and need—food, shelter, and the satisfactions of the body. They are the gods of practical people whose pragmatism does not yet include very much appreciation of the necessities of the spirit.

The second aspect of religion's contribution to the human evolution in Canaan in this age is ethical in significance. It was made largely through the increased emphasis on ritual which came in, apparently as the result of Egyptian influence, with the rise of the temple and the development of a professional priesthood. It was this ordering of the faith through ritual that gave it whatever it possessed of lasting social effectiveness. The cultus gave the pragmatic philosophy a body through which it could actually exercise the social functions of education and regulation. Conduct might be dictated by necessity and opportunity, but it was also patterned and sanctioned by the cultus. And it was the sanctioning and patterning of it that cultivated in the average man the disposition to ac-

cept the responsibilities laid upon him by necessity and opportunity. Order made faith socially effective as long as faith itself was individually adequate. In setting the steps of the people of Canaan in the path of faith and order, those who introduced into that land the way of the surrounding civilized world prepared the path for those later manifestations of conscience which have made Palestine, for millions of men, the "Holy Land."

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL UPHEAVAL AND TRIBAL PARTICULARISM

To say that a culture passes into a period of decadence is to indicate that some potentially far-reaching change has been wrought in the social psychology of the group whose life has patterned itself in that particular manner. The accepted range of desires, the customary ideology, and the stereotyped pattern of conduct have in some way become inadequate for the needs of the group as a whole. The decadence of the pattern, however, does not necessarily indicate either intellectual or moral retrogression. On the contrary, a period of cultural "decadence" often synchronizes with, or shortly precedes, a new burst of creative energy. What is frequently going on in such a transitional period is a process of analysis that is moving toward some new synthesis which will, in some respect or respects, be more adequate to the needs of the times. Such an age of groping toward a new synthesis was ushered in in Palestine about the turn of the twelfth century B.C. The first phase of its development is contemporary with what is known, from the angle of material culture, as the Early Iron Age. It extends over two centuries approximately from 1200 B.C. to 1000 B.C.¹

It is during this period that the "Hebrews" as such, be-

¹ The Early Iron Age is normally reckoned as 1200-900 B.C. For the purposes here in view it is thought best to reckon it as about 1200-1000 B.C.

come prominent in the life of Palestine. Many of the tribes whose descendants were to become included in the "Hebrew" group had entered Palestine long before this time, and they and their descendants had lived within the Canaanite pattern for several generations, though probably never occupying positions of commanding economic or political strength in that civilization. But it was given to the groups latest to enter, that is, to those who came to the borders of Palestine under the leadership of Moses, at about 1200 B.C., to enter the country at a time when conditions presented both the need and the opportunity for a vigorous and influential participation in its life.

Evidence that the decadence of Canaanite culture was well under way about the turn of the twelfth century B.C. may be derived from a comparison of the native pottery forms and decorations of this period with those of late Hyksos times when that culture was approaching its zenith. The forms of the earlier pottery reveal a considerable aesthetic motivation, while those of the later are dictated almost wholly by utility. The decorative designs of late Hyksos times are freely conceived and realistically executed. But the later designs are conventionalized and show dependence on a decadent artistic tradition. So far as native Canaanite pottery is concerned, then, little care is devoted to its manufacture from the closing decades of the Late Bronze Age right down to the end of the Early Iron Age. That pottery originating in this interval which displays attractiveness of form and decoration is almost entirely of Mycenaean or Cypriote origin, or is of the distinctive Philistine type, a circum-

stance which precisely fits the political history of the times.²

In considering the possible causes of this decadence of Canaanite culture, it is well to remember that it had owed its inception to a political movement of imperial scope and spirit. The Hyksos, who had introduced into Palestine that religion of productivity which had tended to focus human attentiveness on the processes of nature, had held economic and political control, however loosely exercised, over a relatively large area. In exchange for this dominance they appear to have accepted a measure of responsibility for order and security. Travel and communication had been relatively safe. Local concentrations of power had been discouraged; and the pressures and tensions due to neighborhood jealousies and rivalries had been, to some extent at least, minimized. Under such a superimposed measure of political order there could be provided for the average individual the incentives necessary to induce him to devote himself to the tasks of production. The way of living fostered by the system had held a measure of promise so long as a vigorous overlordship was maintained.

Even after the grip of the Hyksos on Syria-Palestine had been shaken off, the situation was not materially altered. Their incursion into Egypt had stimulated in that land an aggressive imperialism which was motivated in its

² Cf. R. M. Engberg, in *OIP*, XXVI, 35 ff. The attractive vessels of the last half of the Late Bronze period (1400-1200 B.C.) which display Mycenaean or Cypriote origin are well illustrated on Stratum II at Tell Abu Hawam, near Modern Haifa. See W. R. Hamilton, "Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam," *QDAP*, Vol. IV (1934), Pls. XVI ff. Note especially the accompanying Cypriote bull rhytons and Late Mycenaean figurines on Pl. XVII and p. 54.

early stages at least, by a passion for political security. As a result of this hardening of the temper of the great state on the Nile, a large degree of social order had been given to Syria-Palestine until the decline of the great eighteenth dynasty had begun to set in about the turn of the fourteenth century B.C.

Even during the remaining years of this dynasty's rule a semblance of order had been maintained along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean, though it is true that, until the rise of the nineteenth dynasty temporarily reinvigorated Egypt, the real seat of economic and political authority had lain more in the Hittite Empire of Asia Minor than on the Nile. The nineteenth dynasty, however, had vigorously asserted its rights in Syria-Palestine against the Hittites until the growing threat of the westward expansion of Assyria had forced these inveterate and evenly matched foes to compromise and set up by treaty an entente designed to preserve the balance of power against aggression from the east. This had occurred in 1272 B.C. during the reigns of Ramses II of Egypt and Hattushil III of Hatti.³ This arrangement, no doubt, had seemed to promise the requisite measure of political stability for Syria-Palestine, but it should not be forgotten that the long struggle between Hatti and Egypt had done much to exhaust the morale and resources of both these states.

The measure of exhaustion which had overtaken both Egypt and Hatti had become more and more apparent as the thirteenth century had advanced to its close. Finally their real debility had been exposed about the close of that

³ The ancient term for the Hittite state.

century, when there had impinged upon the entire western flank of the Near East, from Asia Minor on the north to Egypt on the south, a tide of invasion. The original impetus of this movement had come from the far north through Greece and the Aegean, and the onslaught had either destroyed or seriously embarrassed all the then established great powers of the Near East. It is true, however, that a statue base of Ramses VI has been found at Megiddo which suggests that as far north as that point Egypt had still exercised a shadow of its former influence till about 1150 B.C.

The persistence of Egyptian influence, on at least some parts of Palestine, during this age of transition is illustrated by the anthropomorphic sarcophagi which have been found at Beth-Shan, at Sharuhén, and at Rabbath-Ammon (modern Amman) in Transjordania.⁴

These coffins (see Fig. 27), which are made of clay, have lids or covers just above the head of the corpse which they inclose. These covers are decorated with ill-proportioned representations of the head of the deceased, also modeled in clay. In the specimens from Beth-Shan and Sharuhén the hands and arms are also shown, the arms emerging from the sides of the headdress, the hands folded beneath the chin. The faces on the sarcophagi from Sharuhén are shown with beards. The face on one clay coffin from Beth-Shan is that of a woman.

By a careful analysis on the basis of parallels to Egyp-

⁴ See A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, p. 39 and Pls. 37-40; Sir W. M. F. Petrie, *Beth-Pelet*, I, 8 ff. and Pl. XXIV; W. F. Albright "An Anthropoid Clay Coffin from Sahab in Transjordania," *AJA*, XXXVI (1932), 295 ff. and Pl. 12; L. H. Vincent, "Les fouilles américaines de Beisan," *RB*, XXXII (1923), 430 ff.

tian specimens from Tell Nebesheh and Tell el-Yahudiyeh Albright would place these sarcophagi in the twelfth to the eleventh centuries B.C.⁵ It is possible, though hardly probable, that the specimens from Beth-Shan may be as old as the thirteenth century B.C. On the other hand, the transjordanian specimen is as late as about 900 B.C.

There is no doubt that the inspiration of these objects is not Mycenaean but is derived from the mummy coffins of the Egyptians. One may perhaps see the consummation of this type of coffin in the beautiful anthropoid marble coffins of the later Phoenicians and Greeks.

Though there is much other evidence to indicate the influence of Egypt upon the cultic aspects of life in this age, these sarcophagi are so few in number that of themselves they may not be regarded as significant evidence concerning mortuary practice in Palestine. It is very prob-

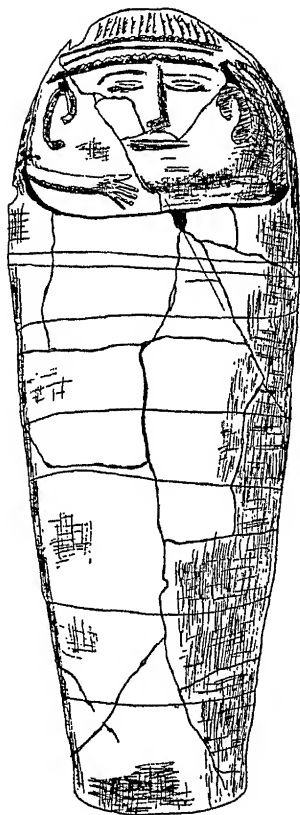


FIG. 27.—Pottery anthropoid sarcophagus from Beth-Shan. (After A. Rowe, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History*, Pl. XXXVII.)

⁵ W. F. Albright, *op. cit.*, pp. 298 ff.

able that they were made for Egyptians resident in these districts and that their use never became a custom among either the Canaanites or the Philistines. Albright has perhaps correctly characterized them as "barbarous imitations of Egyptian models."⁶ They do, however, serve to give concreteness to the idea that there was no abrupt cessation of Egyptian influence in Palestine in this period of transition.

But though there was still considerable cultural influence exercised by Egypt in Palestine, especially upon the common people, Egyptian political control had been remote. The old imperial order had actually collapsed, as it were, almost overnight. Thus there had been removed at one stroke that measure of superimposed political stability which had made the Canaanite culture and religion relatively adequate for the needs of that region. Order vanished and was replaced by conflict as the peoples of the Syro-Palestinian corridor struggled to set up some new social integration which might restore the stability and security which had once been imposed by the old empires.

As the turn of the twelfth century came, then, there were being deposited all along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean groups of these invasive peoples who had entered the Near East by way of the Aegean. The precipitation seems to have been heaviest along the coast itself, though there was considerable penetration overland from the north. The success of this irruption was partly due to the fact that the newcomers possessed tools, weapons, armor, and chariots, fabricated of iron—a substance known until then in the Near East only as a precious

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

metal. This technological advantage gave the newcomers power to impose themselves on the native stocks as a ruling caste. So far as Palestine itself is concerned, the people known as the Philistines, who were indeed to give the name "Palestine" to the lands at the southern end of the coastal corridor, are the most prominent representatives of this wave of invasion. In that area the newcomers succeeded in establishing themselves in sufficient force to make that region definitely their own. But it should not be forgotten that even farther north many of the older "Canaanite" centers were soon under their domination.

On the whole, what seems to have happened among the older stocks all along the coastal corridor as this new stock penetrated the country was that the better-organized and more prosperous districts accepted the newcomers and adjusted themselves to the new situation. No doubt the economic and political advantages accruing from the superior metal techniques which the invaders commanded had much to do with this. This appears from the fact that during this period the use of iron gradually becomes common, replacing even many of the older types of bronze weapons and instruments. Certainly the primitive flint sickles which had been in common use up to this time are now displaced by the new iron sickles (see Fig. 28). What this command of the superior metal techniques might mean in the way of economic and military advantage, both to these newcomers from the north and to the native peoples who accepted them, is hinted in the following passage, which indicates the handicap under which the first Hebrew group to offer resistance to Philistine domination labored:

Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel, for the Philistines said,

"Lest the Hebrews make sword or spear."

But all the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen each his plowpoint and his coulter and his ax and his mattock.⁷

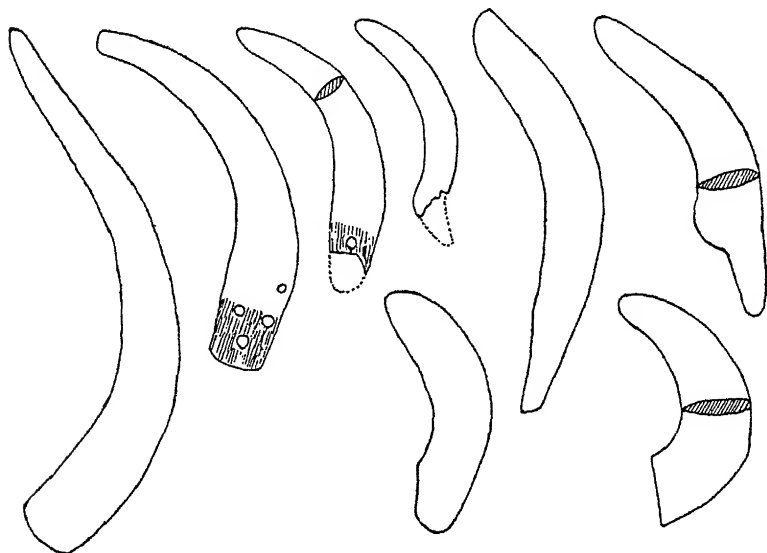


FIG. 28.—Iron sickles from Gerar. (After W. M. F. Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XXVII, Nos. 13-20.)

This note plainly suggests that the Philistines kept their metal-working techniques a secret from the native peoples so that, as late as the times of Samuel and Saul, the Hebrew clans had no access to the raw material from which the new implements and weapons were fabricated and no skill whatever in the processes of fabrication. That the Philistines actually commanded these skills and were able

⁷ I Sam. 13:19 f.

to smelt and fabricate iron within their own territories seems to be made certain by the fact that there has been discovered at Gerar, on the Philistine plain, a furnace for smelting iron which had been constructed there about 1195 B.C. (see Fig. 29).⁸

It is not hard to see what an advantage this more advanced metal technique conferred upon these invaders. Neither is it difficult to believe that the responsible au-

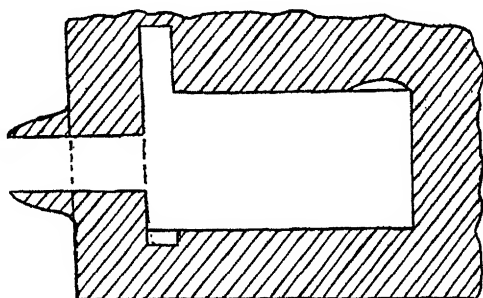


FIG. 29.—Plan of iron furnace from Gerar. (After W. M. Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. VI.)

thorities in many of the long-established and well-organized Canaanite city-states would be ready and even anxious to co-operate with those who had such an advantage under their control. Indeed, under the disorder which had resulted when the old imperial order had finally broken down, co-operation with the newcomers would seem to have been the only road open to these Canaanite city-states if they were to retain the authority they had long

⁸ Sir W. F. M. Petrie, *Gerar* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928), pp. 14 ff. Forges of the same period for the smelting and working of copper alloy are reported from Beth-Shemesh. See E. Grant, *Rumeileh* (Haverford, Haverford College, 1934), pp. 20, 47.

wielded, with more or less support from the great powers, over the wilder and less populous rural districts. It would be natural, in other words, for the Canaanite ruling caste of the urban centers to amalgamate with the newcomers whose metal techniques made them valuable both from the economic and the military point of view.

Though the Old Testament localizes the Philistines on the southern end of the coastal plain, where their pentapolis, consisting of Ekron (modern Qatra), Askalon (modern Askalan), Ashdod (modern Esdud), Gath (modern Tell el-Menshiyeh), and Gaza, was established,⁹ it is quite within the range of possibility that many centers described in the biblical records of the period of the Judges as "Canaanite" were really under the domination of Philistines or related stocks.

It seems more than likely, for example, that Sisera who, about 1150 B.C., led an army from the coastal-plain city of Harosheth-of-the-Gentiles into the plain of Megiddo in an effort to cope with a rising of "Hebrew" clans under Deborah and Barak, was a "Philistine" or a member of some closely related tribe.¹⁰ His name is certainly non-Semitic. Moreover, the Deuteronomic editor of Judges volunteers a note that the forces he commanded were equipped with iron chariots.¹¹ It is true that the ancient and historically trustworthy poem in the fifth chapter of Judges represents him as leader of a confederacy of "kings of Canaan,"¹² while the Deuteronomic editor makes of him no more than the commander of the forces of Jabin of Hazor, whom he describes as "King of Canaan."¹³ No

⁹ See I Sam. 6:17.

¹⁰ See W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, I, 52 ff.

¹¹ Judg. 4:3.

¹² Judg. 5:19.

¹³ Judg. 4:2.

doubt the latter may have confused the records by this identification. It was possibly made because of the fact that adherents of the Deuteronomic movement of the late seventh century B.C. were painfully conscious that the pattern of culture which they were endeavoring to combat was to a large extent Canaanite in origin, so that, from their distinctly cultural viewpoint, the Canaanites had been the real enemies of the Hebrews in the period of the settlement. But the point is that, whether one follows the ancient poem or the later editor, the impression of cooperation between the Canaanites and this redoubtable warrior with the foreign name grows upon one and seems to demand acceptance of the editor's note that Sisera's forces were equipped with chariots of iron. Indeed, it was perhaps the miring of these in a morass caused by the sudden flooding of the Kishon River that made the Hebrew victory possible.

The remoter origins of the Philistines, like those of other tribes who participated in the great influx from the north into the Near East about the turn of the twelfth century B.C., are shrouded in uncertainty. The Philistines are first mentioned by name in the records of Ramses III of Egypt, who describes a battle with them which occurred in his ninth year, about 1190 B.C.¹⁴ A well-known passage in Amos 9:7 states that they came from "Caph-tor," which may equate with the "Keftiu" mentioned in the records of Ramses III as their point of origin. The location and extent of the region designated by the term is, however, problematical. It may have been applied to the island of Crete. On the other hand, the suggestion has

¹⁴ J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), 38, par. 64.

been made that Caphtor and Keftiu may be etymologically the same as Cappadocia, in which case their reference would be to the mainland of Asia Minor. Possibly the terms may have been used of a larger area including, as well as Crete and Asia Minor, other lands bordering on the Aegean.¹⁵

Little more is known of the racial affinities and language of the Philistines than of the location of their earlier habitat. They did not speak a Semitic language. But that does not mean either that they were "Nordics" or that they spoke an Indo-European tongue. Something might be learned of their racial and linguistic antecedents if it were possible to translate the inscription on the oft-mentioned Phaestos disk. This clay tablet inscribed with pictographic characters emanates from Phaestos, in southern Crete, and dates from approximately 1600 B.C., or about four centuries before the Philistines emerge upon the Near Eastern stage. Yet, because of the fact that one



FIG. 30.—A word from the Phaestos disk.

of its pictographic characters is a head with a headdress similar to those worn by the Philistines (see Fig. 30), it may have some bearing on the origins of the latter. It seems at least possible to venture the very tentative suggestion that the Philistines may have been one of a number of groups or tribes of the peoples whose forbears had built up the Minoan-Mycenaean cultures in Crete and on

¹⁵ Cf. G. A. Wainwright, "Caphtor, Keftiu, and Cappadocia," *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 203 ff.; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines, Their History and Civilization*, Schweich Lectures for 1911 (London: British Academy, 1914); W. A. Heurtley, "The Relation between Philistine and Mycenaean Pottery," *QDAP*, V (1936), 90 ff.

the mainland of Greece. They were possibly dislodged from their habitat by long-sustained pressure of peoples from farther north, before which those ancient cultures waned and at last crumbled. If this should prove to be the case, it might explain to some extent the ease with which these newcomers accommodated themselves to the civilization which they found established along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean, for that region had had cultural contacts with Crete long prior to Philistine times. It is highly possible also that the Minoan-Mycenaean cultures were similar, in many basic respects, to those of the great Near Eastern civilizations under the direct influence of which Syria-Palestine had been for over half a millennium.

Perhaps pointing in the direction above suggested is the fact that the Philistines readily adopted the religion of the Canaanites among whom they had settled. On the authority of the Old Testament it is known that at Ashdod and Gaza the Philistines worshiped Dagon.¹⁶ Because the Hebrew word for fish is *dâg*, and because the Philistines lived by the sea, it used to be thought that this was a fish deity. But it is now clear that Dagon of the Philistines is the well-known vegetation or fertility deity, who was worshiped, not only up and down the length of the coastal corridor, but also in Mesopotamia. The Hebrew word *dâgân* signifies corn or grain. The Phoenician priest, Sanchuniathon, who is said to have lived during the age here under discussion, ascribed to Dagon the invention of grain and of the plow.¹⁷ This deity appears in the texts

¹⁶ I Sam. 5:2.

¹⁷ Philo of Byblos, in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, III (Paris, 1928), 568: "Dagon autem, quod frumentum et aratrum invenisset."

recently discovered at Ras Shamra,¹⁸ and at that site the ruins of a temple were uncovered in which were two limestone stelae dedicated to Dagon, so that this temple had almost certainly been his. In the same city there was also a sanctuary dedicated to Baal the son of Dagon.¹⁹ As has been pointed out by Professor Langdon,²⁰ it is clear from the occurrence in Mesopotamia of the name Izrah-Dagan (Dagan has sown)²¹ that Dagon was a grain deity.

It is related of Ahaziah of Israel that, having suffered a fall through the lattice of the upper chamber of his palace in Samaria, he sent messengers to inquire of "Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron" whether he should recover from the injury.²² In the Ras Shamra texts the vegetation deity, Alein Baal, is designated as "Zebul, Baal of the Earth." This alone is sufficient to suggest that the deity of Ekron was really Baal-Zebul and that he was but another local manifestation of the vegetation god whose functions included that of healing as well as of fructification. When one recalls that, according to the Greek text of Matt. 10:25, the devil, here a depotentized deity, is given the title Beel Zebul, this inference appears to be still better grounded. This equation, then, illustrates once more the fact that the Philistines readily and easily adopted that type of nature-worship which had probably been first brought to that region by the Hyksos.²³

¹⁸ See *Syria*, XII (1931), 195 = I AB, col. I, l. 24; XV (1934), 227 = obv., l. 6, etc.

¹⁹ C. F. A. Schaeffer, "A City with Twin Temples of Dagan and Baal," *ILN*, April 27, 1935, pp. 686 ff.

²⁰ *The Mythology of All Races*, V, 78 ff.

²¹ Cf. the Hebrew name, Jezreel, which means "El [God] has sown."

²² Cf. II Kings 1:2 ff.

²³ Cf. W. F. Albright, "The North Canaanite Epic of Aleyan Baal and Mot," *JPOS*, XII (1933), 191 f.

The ease and rapidity with which the Philistines adapted themselves to the already decadent Canaanite culture pattern accounts to a large extent for the fact that, not to them, but rather to the then technologically inferior Hebrews from whose ranks ultimately rose outstanding individuals who perceived and exposed the inadequacies of that pattern, was it given to develop from their experiences in that land a distinctive culture whose influence has survived to the present day. From the true cultural standpoint, perhaps the greatest disaster which befell the Philistines was that they were so easily and readily accorded entrée to the inner circles of the Canaanite ruling caste. Their quickly won political dominance did indeed enable them to exercise a considerable and beneficial influence on the material aspects of culture. The rapidity with which the use of iron spread after their advent is, of course, the most prominent illustration of this point. But as evidence is recovered from sites adjacent to the coast, where their influence was strongest, it is clear that they were in close touch with Crete and Cyprus and that through them much valuable influence from those cultures was transmitted to Palestine. Philistine pottery, for example, is decorated with distinctive artistic merit, as the accompanying illustration of Philistine vessels with their typical bird decoration shows (see Fig. 31).

But while the contributions of the Philistines to the material aspects of the religion and culture of Palestine may not be minimized, the fact remains that they contributed no impulse which modified in any way the underlying philosophy of life which shaped the social psychology. From this point of view it may be said that their great contribution to the evolution of religion in Palestine

was made through the economic and political pressure which, in conjunction with the Canaanite ruling caste, they exercised upon the peasantry of the land, and especially upon those elements of it which came at last to constitute the Hebrew people. As a result of the collapse of

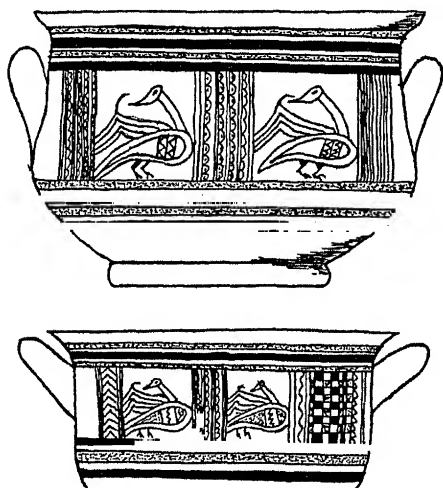


FIG. 31.—Philistine decorated pottery from Gezer. (After R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. III, Pl. CLXIII, Nos. 1 and 3.)

the old imperial order which had been brought about by the Philistines and related folk, and as a result, further, of the fact that these invaders from the north were not themselves sufficiently unified and politically adept to be able to impose upon the Syro-Palestinian corridor anything approximating centralized and stable social control, conditions of intolerable disorder arose, which, about the close of the Early Iron Age, resulted in the emergence of the Hebrew nation and in the founding of what might

be described as the first truly national religion to make its appearance on the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean.

Against the background which has just been sketched, it should now be possible to suggest how the political upheaval of this age of transition forced the tribes who later constituted the first Hebrew kingdom to focus their attention, for a time, on social rather than on natural forces, and how the bitter struggle which they were called upon to wage for social security led, through tribal particularism, to the exaltation of a tribal deity to the status of a national god.

Though the material culture of the Canaanites had already entered upon a period of decadence at the time when the Philistines entered, one is not to suppose that any radical change had, up to then, been wrought in the generally accepted type of religion. Cultic habits, customs, and ideas are known to be most tenacious, and it was to be a slow and difficult process by which the philosophy of life which governed that society would be altered in any fundamental respect. In the hands of later compilers and editors the Old Testament records of the period prior to the founding of the Hebrew monarchy have been made to convey the impression that the Hebrew immigrants brought with them into their new home a distinctive "Hebrew" religion, the outstanding feature of which was monotheism. But as these records are analyzed in the light of the growing mass of data which is being contributed by the archaeological spade, it becomes clear that the tribes who finally organized themselves into a Hebrew kingdom began their life in Palestine on a cultural level which was certainly not higher, and very possi-

bly was lower, than that long since achieved by the Canaanites.

Undoubtedly such is the impression which one gathers from a careful and critical reading of the Book of Judges. The Hebrew clans who fought with Sisera held an economic and political status which must have been regarded by the citizens of the stronger urban communities of contemporary Canaanites as distinctly inferior to their own. They were but peasants of the hills and wild lands, in which they could eke out only a living that was far from luxurious.²⁴ They were at that time still struggling to secure control of some of the lands of the fertile plains. But even such a victory as that which they scored on the banks of the Kishon gave them but a precarious and temporary foothold in the more productive regions. Even in their remoter highland villages they were not safe, in those troublous times when imperial authority was withdrawn from that region, from disastrous forays by Transjordan tribes which might deprive them overnight of the winter's sustenance. One recalls the picture of Gideon "beating out wheat in a winepress to keep it safe from Midian,"²⁵ and apparently not at the moment contemplating any other more vigorous course of action for dealing with the contemporary "racketeers" who lived by preying upon productive societies.

The Hebrews, as this period of transition opened, had not achieved anything approaching the proficiency in po-

²⁴ For the archaeological evidence for the time and place of the "Hebrew" settlement see W. F. Albright, "Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," *BASOR*, No. 58 (1935), pp. 10 ff., and references therein mentioned.

²⁵ *Judg.* 6:11 ff.

litical organization which the Canaanites had long since attained. Those who were of several generations of residence in the land, as very probably was Gideon, had assimilated that type of the Canaanite religion which prevailed in rural districts. This was probably a compound of the ancient animistic Cult of the Dead and a simple, peasant variety of fertility Baalism. Gideon's real name was very probably Jerubaal. He and his family were, at least up to a certain point in the hero's life, devoted to the worship of a local variety of deity of fructification. They were plain peasant people who valued sustenance and community fellowship. Indeed, it is much to be doubted that Gideon ever himself became a worshiper of Yahweh, who was in this age to become the distinctive "Hebrew" deity. The narrative of his adventures looks very much like an ancient story of a northern tribal hero, living within the rural type of Canaanite culture, which has been revised by a later writer who was a Yahwist and who was desirous of reading back into the past the idea that Yahweh was behind every local manifestation of that resistive spirit which finally united all the Hebrew tribes, under Yahweh's tutelage, in a drive for economic and political power. The attempt of this later writer to substitute the name Gideon, which means "hewer," for his real name, Jerubaal, which means "Baal will contend," that is, on behalf of the bearer of the name, seems to be a plain case of a later rationalization in terms of a preconceived idea. Obviously the name "Hewer" is derived from the incident by which Gideon is alleged by the narrator to have signalized his break with Baalism.²⁶ And the forced and un-

²⁶ Judg. 6:25-32.

natural interpretation of the significance of the name Jerubbaal in Judg. 6:32 casts doubt upon the authenticity of at least this phase of the narrative. In this connection the Deuteronomic editor's note concerning the apostasy of Gideon and his family to the ephod which this Manassite hero set up in Ophrah after his victory is very significant.²⁷

Even should the view that some of the Israelite heroes who figure in the book of Judges were only later alleged to be worshipers of Yahweh be unpalatable, the fact remains that the best efforts of the Yahwistic narrator have not sufficed to eradicate from some of these traditions a flavor that is so Canaanitic that, if the narrative be accepted at its face value, nothing has been gained for the case that the "Hebrews" of this period had a distinctive Yahwistic religion and culture.

The Gileadite hero, Jephthah, for example, was the son of a *zônâh*, or sacred prostitute,²⁸ so that if his father was a worshiper of Yahweh he certainly worshiped him under the Canaanite fertility rite. Not only so, but by claiming Jephthah as a Yahwistic hero, the historian has involved himself in the difficulty of explaining away a custom practiced in his own time, by the maidens of Gilead, of roaming the mountains for four days in each year to bewail either their own virginity or that of Jephthah's daughter.²⁹ But this cannot be explained without implying the approval by the Yahwist, Jephthah, of human sacrifice.³⁰ The name of one of the "Hebrew" heroes who is credited with having slain six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad is Shamgar-ben-Anath.³¹ This name, which traces Sham-

²⁷ Judg. 6:32.

²⁹ Judg. 11:36-40.

²⁸ Judg. 11:1.

³⁰ Judg. 11:31.

³¹ Judg. 3:31.

gar's maternal parentage to Anath, a name commonly in use throughout the length of Syria-Palestine for the mother-goddess of fertility, is another clue to the religious status of the "Hebrews" of this age. Very possibly this judge was also the son of a *zônâh*. Certainly that arch enemy of the Philistines, Samson, whose very name suggests a cultus of which sun worship was a feature, was the child of a cultic union. The text of that story plainly implies that this Danite hero was of divine origin, being the son of the wife of Manoah and a "man of God" whom the Yahwistic narrator describes as an "angel of Yahweh."³² While, then, Yahweh was becoming known to Canaan in this age, and especially to the peasant elements of the population, there is no reliable evidence, even in the biblical record, that he was at first known to all the clans who by the close of this period had come to be enrolled under his banner, nor that he was the sole object of the worship of any of them.

With this point of view the material remains of the cultic life of the Early Iron Age, which clearly suggest the influential survival of the Canaanite cultus, are in striking agreement. Among the most interesting of these religious objects is a bronze figurine of the mother-goddess. It is less than five inches in height and has depressed eye-sockets which were originally inlaid. Its headdress is, however, its most significant feature. This consists of two horns and reminds one of the Egyptian representation of the mother-goddess as having bovine ears. It was recovered by Macalister at Gezer³³ which, of course, was one of

³² Judg. 13:2-10. Note that the word translated "angel" means also "messenger" and does not necessarily signify a celestial being.

³³ R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 419 ff.

those "Canaanite" cities which did not come into the possession of the Hebrews until Solomon's times.³⁴ But its date, which is about 1000 B.C., serves to illustrate the fact that all through this period the Canaanite cultus continued to function as it had for centuries, and was still the accepted religion of that region as a whole, not only in

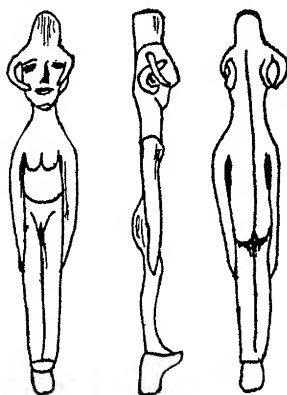


FIG. 32.—Ashtoreth-of-the-Two-Horns from Gezer. (After R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, p. 419, Fig. 504.)

definitely "Canaanite" centers, but certainly in the Philistine regions, and very possibly also in many of the "Hebrew" communities.

A little further consideration of this mother-goddess of Gezer may serve to confirm to some extent the last previous remark. This horned deity is, without doubt, Ashtoreth-Karnaim (Astarte of the Two Horns), patroness of a place known as Ashtoroth-Karnaim, mentioned in Gen. 14:5 (see Fig. 32). She was a very ancient Canaanite deity. A stele dedicated to her and depicting the goddess with her two horns has been found at Beth-Shan in a temple dating from the time of Amenhotep III of Egypt (1411-1375 B.C.).³⁵

In this particular representation of the mother-goddess there was doubtless conveyed the idea that the fertility

³⁴ 1 Kings 9:16.

³⁵ A. Rowe, *Beth Shan: Topography and History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), Pl. 48.

of the flock was derived from her just as the serpent mother-goddess figurines suggest the same for the fruits of the field. Possibly the motivation for this representation of the earth-mother was originally the desire to draw the nomadic-pastoral elements of the population into the cultic pattern.

Now the horns associated with this mother-goddess link her with some form of bull cultus. Her consort would be represented as a bull. One at once recalls the story of Aaron and the bull which he made of molten gold.³⁶ The narrative in which this incident is found is derived from a school which was critical of the pagan tendencies of the Aaronitic priesthood but which nevertheless recognized that these developed in response to popular demand.³⁷ It may very well emanate from the seventh century B.C. and be part of the literary product of a movement which later came to social expression in the reforms of Josiah. It is significant that the writer of such a passage does not hesitate to involve the "Hebrew" people in this type of cultus even prior to their entry into Canaan. This fits in with the oft-made suggestion that the tribal name "Ephraim" honors a bovine deity.³⁸ The association of this name with the word meaning "a heifer" is suggested in Gen. 41:52 and Hos. 13:15.³⁹ It is quite possible that Amos, in attacking the great of Israel, alludes to a deity

³⁶ Exod., chap. 32. Note especially vss. 4, 5. ³⁷ Cf. Exod. 32:1.

³⁸ The Hebrew for bull is *pār*; for heifer, *pārāh*. Preceded by a vowel, the *p* becomes an *f*. The word *Ephraim* has a dual ending, which may suggest the pair, male and female, of the species.

³⁹ For the association of the name "Joseph" with the bull cult see H. G. May, "The Evolution of the Joseph Story," *AJSL*, XLVII (1931), 87 ff.

so conceived when he addresses those whom he describes as "rejoicing in something which is nothing" thus:

You . . . who say,

"Have we not by our own might taken to ourselves *two* horns?"⁴⁰

To his mind the "two horns" symbolized that material success which the ruling caste of Israel had secured for itself regardless of its cost to society as a whole. That the same symbol was known at the court of Ahab in the middle of the ninth century is suggested by the narrative in II Kings 22:2 ff. There it is related that, as Ahab and his vassal, Jehoshaphat of Judah, were awaiting the appearance of Micaiah ben Imlah in answer to the royal summons, one of the four hundred court prophets, Zedekiah the son of Chenaniah, "made for himself two horns"⁴¹ of iron and said, "Thus says Yahweh, With these you shall gore the Arameans until you have destroyed them." The horns which signified economic success and prosperity readily came, under the stimulus of nationalistic rivalry, to symbolize the triumph of brute force in war. All that it was necessary for Zedekiah to do in order to suggest military victory to Ahab was to put on horns made of iron, the metal most useful in warfare. That the Hebrews knew the bull cultus at an even earlier date is suggested by the Yahwistic narrator in the Gideon story who speaks of a bull which may have constituted one of the items of the cultic furnishings of the sanctuary at Ophrah where

⁴⁰ Cf. Amos 6:13 and note that the Hebrew text for the word "horn" is pointed as a dual—a fact which is not recognized by translators, who render merely by the plural "horns."

⁴¹ The form here may be quite correctly rendered as construct of the dual. It is highly improbable that the prophet displayed more than two horns.

"Gideon" and his clan had been wont to worship.⁴² In the Hebrew text this bull is described as "the bull of *Shôr* which your father has." The text at this point has been declared hopelessly corrupt by so great a critical authority as the late Professor George F. Moore.⁴³ But the fact that in the recently discovered Ras Shamra inscriptions the god name "*Shôr*" occurs in close conjunction with *Môt*,⁴⁴ the god of death, suggests again that the cultus at Ophrah may have been very similar to that which flourished at this north Syrian site. In this connection attention may be drawn to a passage in the Alein Baal missal from Ras Shamra in which Shepesh ("The Sun") says to Mot,

Surely thou wilt fight Alein Baal.
Indeed may he not hear you *Shôr El*, thy father,
Indeed may he uproot the pillars of thy dwelling.⁴⁵

In Hebrew there is a commonly used word, "*shôr*," which means "a head of cattle, bullock, ox, etc." There are some unusually interesting occurrences of this word. One of these is in Ps. 106:20, which reads:

Then they exchanged their Glory⁴⁶
For an image of *Shôr*, eater of grass.

The allusion is to the incident of Aaron's making a golden bull at the request of the people. Isaiah uses the same word as he declares:⁴⁷

⁴² Judg. 6:25.

⁴³ Cf. *International Critical Commentary*, "Judges," p. 192.

⁴⁴ *Syria*, XIV (1933), 128 ff., l. 8 of the tablet.

⁴⁵ *Syria*, XII (1931), 220 f. (col. 6, ll. 24-27).

⁴⁶ That is, Yahweh. See above, p. 48.

⁴⁷ Isa. 7:25.

And as for all the hills that used to be hoed with the hoe
Thou shalt not go there [for] fear of brier and thorn.
But it shall be a place for sending forth an ox [*shôr*]
And a trampling place for sheep.

It is perhaps not too far-fetched to believe that he chose the word *shôr* deliberately because of its cultic associations, for the whole burden of his message in the latter part of chapter 7 is that the fertility cultus will lead not to fertility and prosperity but to the reverse.

In the light of these facts it is not hard to see how Yahweh came to have a consort. The fifth-century Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, as has already been mentioned, contain an allusion to the god name *Anat-Yahu*, which may mean "Anat, consort of Yahu [Jehovah]." Anat is simply another manifestation of Astarte and may have been known, possibly both with the horn and with the snake attributes, as a consort of Yahweh in many "Hebrew" communities even during the period under discussion.

The recent discoveries at Tell en-Nasbeh (ancient Mizpeh) seem at present very possibly to point in this direction. Here were found two buildings dating back to this early period of cultural transition, one of which may have been a temple of Yahweh (see Fig. 33) while the other certainly was a sanctuary of the mother-goddess. This identification of the latter is rendered practically certain by the discovery in it of a fragment of a mother-goddess figurine as well as by the finding of other such figurines and a conical baetyl or *maṣṣēvâh* in the immediate vicinity. The recovery of a pottery dove within the sanctuary walls further reinforces the conclusion suggest-

ed concerning the function of this second building. Another interesting item of the furnishings of this mother-goddess sanctuary at Mizpeh is described by the excava-

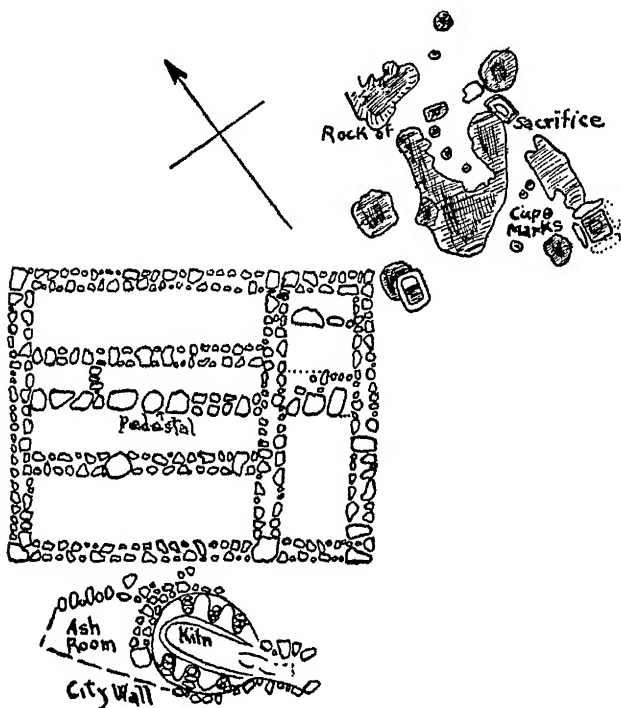


FIG. 33.—Plan of temple and high place at Mizpeh. (After W. F. Badè, *Palestine Institute Publication*, No. 1, p. 31, Fig. XII.)

tor as “a small saucer lamp nested in the three-branch fork of a tree, all in terra cotta.” Is it possible that this may be a prototype of the later branched candlestick?⁴⁸

⁴⁸ W. F. Badè, “The Tell en-Nasbeh Excavations of 1929,” *PEFQS*, LXII (1930), 12 ff.; *Excavations at Tell en-Nasbeh, 1926 and 1927*, “Pal-

There is, it must be admitted, no material evidence for the conclusion that the other building found at Mizpeh was a temple of Yahweh; but there are certain facts which may justify such an inference. The site was probably a very ancient sacred place, for in the immediate vicinity of this "Yahweh temple" was discovered a small cave in which there were cup-marks like those which were associated with the cultic sites of pre-Hyksos Canaan. Such survival of the site of the sanctuary of an earlier time and culture into a later period is illustrated at Beth-Shan, in the various temples of the successive, Late Bronze Age city levels,⁴⁹ and perhaps also at Megiddo.⁵⁰ It is, then, a justifiable inference that the same sort of evolution which had occurred at Beth-Shan may very possibly have occurred also at Mizpeh.

In the opinion of the writer who contributed the later, theocratic elements to the story of Samuel and Saul, Mizpeh was already an important sacred place in the period under discussion. He makes it the seat of the theocrat, Samuel, who "judged all Israel" from that center, and whose régime was, according to him, marked by a complete turning-away from "the Baals and Astartes" on the part of the people of Israel, and a consequent cessation of the Philistine offensive.⁵¹ The pre-eminence of this site, in

estine Institute Publications," No. 1 (Berkeley, Calif., 1928), pp. 30 ff. See also the analysis by A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 297 ff.

⁴⁹ See above, pp. 110 ff., and cf. p. 278, n. 67. Reference should also be made to a "succession of sanctuaries," within the city at Beth-Shemesh, reported by Grant. See *PEFQS*, LX (1928), 180 and *PEFQS*, LXI (1929), 205 ff.

⁵⁰ H. G. May, *OIP*, XXVI, 4 ff.

⁵¹ I Sam. 7:3, 7, 13.

the eyes of this writer, who is imbued with the theocratic viewpoint, is further illustrated by his choice of it as the place where Saul was publicly chosen as king. The slightly later "Deuteronomic" editor of the text makes of Mizpeh, however, one of a series of sanctuaries which also includes Bethel, Gilgal, and Ramah, the last of which he appears to regard as the seat of Samuel.⁵² The older Yahwistic elements in the Samuel-Saul story infer likewise that Samuel's ministry was of a peripatetic nature.⁵³ But this document seems to agree with the editor in representing Ramah as the important seat of the seer, since it was here that he privately, and on Yahweh's suggestion and authority, anointed Saul as king, though it also represents Samuel as being well acquainted with the location and usage of other neighboring sacred places.⁵⁴ On the whole, the evidence of the theocratic writer and the Deuteronomic editor suffices to indicate that Mizpeh persisted long after Samuel's times as an important cultic center. But the material evidence from the site itself belies completely their view of the nature of the cultus which actually operated there in the times of Samuel. Certainly the Baals and Astartes were never put away completely there in that age, as the theocratic writer suggests.

Indeed, the picture given of the cultic and civil functions of Samuel by these later writers is clearly a rationalization in terms of a preconceived theory of the religious evolution in Israel. When one turns to the materials contributed by the earlier Yahwistic writer, whose attitudes and motivations were of quite a different nature, one gets a much more primitive picture of various local centers of

⁵² I Sam. 7:15-17.

⁵³ I Sam. 9:12.

⁵⁴ Cf. I Sam. 10:3, 5.

Hebrew life. In these communities the religion is still close to that pre-Hyksos level which emphasized common-meal sacrifice. Such seems to have been the nature of the ceremony at which Samuel officiated in Ramah on the occasion of the visit of the young Saul and his servant.⁵⁵ This sacrifice was held in a *bāmāh*, or "high place," a primitive sanctuary of the type known to Canaan in pre-Hyksos times. But there are indications in this very narrative that many of the elements of the fertility cultus, which had long since been highly developed in the more powerful Canaanite centers, had already percolated to these more primitive rural shrines. At Saul's home community, Gibeah of Benjamin, there was, for example, a *bāmāh* which was presided over by an official known as a *Dôd*.⁵⁶ Associated with this *bāmāh* was a band of ecstatic prophets who doubtless functioned there in much the same manner as Ahab's cult prophets functioned in his court. That the *Dôd* whose seat was in this *bāmāh* was regarded as having political, as well as religious, authority is suggested by Saul's reticence to disclose to him his own private anointing by Samuel as military leader and ruler of the Hebrew tribes.⁵⁷ The person known as *Dôd* in this narrative was doubtless a local *shaman-king*⁵⁸ who was beginning to build up at Gibeah a small city-state, on the true early Canaanite model, that is to say, a state devoted primarily to material productivity. That the community

⁵⁵ I Sam. 9:12 f., 22-24.

⁵⁶ I Sam. 10:9-16. Note that the Hebrew text of the last clause of v. 13 reads, "And when he [Saul] had finished his ecstatic prophesying he entered the *bāmāh*."

⁵⁷ I Sam. 10:15 f.

⁵⁸ That is, a primitive priest-king.

in which Saul lived had, as such, no military pretensions or ambitions is clear from the fact that it tolerated, in its immediate vicinity, a Philistine outpost.⁵⁹ Its pacific spirit is further indicated by the supine manner in which it accepted the tragic appeal for rescue later brought by the messengers from Jabesh-Gilead.⁶⁰

Doubtless the Hebrews would, for the most part, have persisted in this rural type of the Canaanite culture pattern had it not been that the economic and social pressures, which were developing as a result of the decay of imperialism and the intrusion of the aggressive Philistines, here and there stimulated daring individuals to deviate a little from this pattern by exalting the security values above the sustenance values. Samuel, as he privately anoints Saul, appoints as his prime function the deliverance of his people from social pressure. The Hebrew heroes of this period all stand out from the contemporary mass by reason of their manifestation of the pugnacious, resistive spirit, which differed radically from the submissive spirit which it had been the function of the Canaanite pattern to develop in the common, productive mass of the population. Here and there throughout the territories occupied by the "Hebrew" clans there were, during this period, sporadic, local, and only relatively successful manifestations of this new attitude to the social environment. These mean that the inadequacy of the Canaanite way, especially for the lower orders of the population, was being realized, and that little by little a change was being wrought in the social psychology which was eventually to lead the amalgamated Hebrew tribes

⁵⁹ I Sam. 10:5.

⁶⁰ I Sam. 11:4.

into a social experiment, the setting-up of a monarchy, as a result of which the deep-seated social inadequacy of the Canaanitic philosophy of life was to be convincingly exposed. But, during the period under discussion, only the first halting steps in this significant deviation from the long-established way of Canaan were being taken; and frequently those who took them found themselves more opposed than assisted by the clans on whose behalf they were struggling.

Of these, Saul is an outstanding example. The change which was wrought in the spirit of the community of

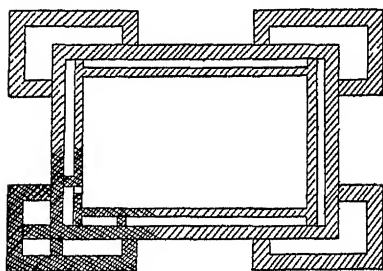


FIG. 34.—Plan of Saul's citadel at Gibeah. (After W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, LII, 7, Fig. 1.)

Gibeah of Benjamin by this one outstanding individual is suggested by the discoveries made as a result of the excavation of that site by Professor Albright.⁶¹ This site, and not Mizpeh, became the capital of the budding Hebrew state which Saul, under

the stimulation of the seer, Samuel, was struggling to establish in the Benjamite highlands. The excavations disclose the existence there of a considerable fortress, probably erected by this doughty champion of forcible resistance to further aggression from the neighboring lowland states (see Fig. 34). This structure was about 170×110 feet in area. It was of two stories and

⁶¹ W. F. Albright, "Excavations at Gibeah of Benjamin (Tell el-Ful)," *AASOR*, IV (1922-23), 1 ff.; *BASOR*, No. 52 (1933), pp. 6 ff.

had a stairway leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. At each of the four corners of its thick walls was a massive tower. Here Saul planned the campaigns by which he sought, often with small success, to unite the normally non-cohesive Hebrew clans against their oppressors and masters. It would appear that several of the earlier years of the great Benjamite warrior's career as a fighting chieftain have been either omitted or excised from the earlier, Yahwistic writer's narrative. As a mere youth Saul gains his first victory over the Ammonites at Jabesh-Gilead.⁶² When next he is encountered in the earlier narrative, he is engaged with the Philistines, and has a grown son, Jonathan, capable of distinguishing himself as his second-in-command.⁶³ On this occasion, the battle of Micmash, it is clear that only a small and desperate minority of neighboring Hebrew clansmen lined up behind their harassed chieftain.⁶⁴ Many of them, indeed, had actually thrown in their lot with their Philistine masters.⁶⁵ From these facts it is not without justification to infer that a considerable period had elapsed between the battle of Jabesh-Gilead and the battle of Micmash, and that, during this period, the greatest handicap under which the Benjamite champion had to labor was probably the indifference, lethargy, and even the active opposition, of many of his fellow-Hebrews.⁶⁶ Saul, then, had great need of his strong fort at Gibeah. This structure during these years stood as the symbol of the budding, among the Hebrew stock, of an attitude which was a distinct deviation from

⁶² I Sam. 11:11.

⁶³ I Sam. 13:1 ff.

⁶⁴ Cf. I Sam. 13:15 b; 14:11.

⁶⁵ Cf. I Sam. 14:21.

⁶⁶ Cf. I. Sam. 10:27.

that inculcated, under the Canaanite pattern of culture, in persons of the economic and social status which the Hebrews then enjoyed. It is true that the excavator of Gibeah of Benjamin found there the remains of an earlier and much less pretentious structure which is described also as a fortress.⁶⁷ Possibly the *Dôd* under whose authority Saul had lived in his boyhood, or else some previous *shaman-king* of the community had built this as a place of refuge from attack. But Saul's great fortress typifies not merely such passive resistance. It stands for an aggressive, assertive spirit which was slowly being fanned to a great flame of nationalistic patriotism in which the temper of the entire "Hebrew" conglomeracy would be hardened for resistance to all external political pressure.

It was with this warlike spirit that the god, Yahweh, became more and more prominently associated during this period. But even so, it should not be forgotten that had the movement not finally resulted in a genuine national integration Yahweh would probably never have become anything more than a tribal deity, whose attributes as a war god had been temporarily and locally magnified above his attributes as a fructifier of field and womb. The political success of the Hebrews made of Yahweh primarily a state god; and as this political function of his was magnified with the development of the Hebrews, it resulted, in many communities, in divorcing him from the more constantly needed economic functions in the local community life. In such smaller centers

⁶⁷ A later fortress belonged to the time of Asa of Judah, while another was constructed perhaps in the Maccabean period.

the tendency would inevitably be, under normal circumstances, to worship Yahweh in the ancient Canaanite rite. And it would also be inevitable that in such localities, whose background had for centuries been Canaanite, Yahweh, even conceived as a fertility deity, would be slow in displacing long-known and worshiped Canaanite vegetation deities.

It is a mistake, then, to see, in this period of transition known from the standpoint of material culture as the Early Iron Age, an era in which there developed a conflict between two clearly defined patterns of culture. That, indeed, is the picture which later rationalization has contrived to impress upon the biblical record. But there is no shred of authentic evidence to support the view that there was any fundamental philosophic or spiritual difference between the so-called "Hebrew culture" of this age and the Canaanite culture. What really seems to have happened in this age is that the "Hebrew" stock was stimulated, chiefly by Philistine-Canaanite pressure, to growing awareness of the social inadequacy of the type of culture which had for centuries been dominant all along the Syro-Palestinian corridor. This awakening at last brought about a metamorphosis in the social psychology of the Hebrew groups which plunged them into the significant social experiment known as the Hebrew monarchy.

This age, then, saw merely the first of many steps which the Hebrew people were to take before they achieved anything like that distinctive Hebrew culture which in the pages of the Old Testament is read back into their remote past, and represented as having been imported into

Palestine, as a finished product, from the desert. The hand which the past laid upon the infant Hebrew monarchy was not the hand of Sinai but the hand of Canaan. And it is because this is so that Palestine itself, and not the barren wastes which lie to the south of it, is, to the Jew as well as to the Gentile, "The Holy Land." For the higher faith which both of these honor was achieved west of the Jordan and north of the Negeb.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ The arid foothills lying at the southern extremity of Judah.

CHAPTER VI

HEBREW NATIONALISM AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM

From a religious point of view the most significant result of the political upheaval which agitated Palestine throughout the Early Iron Age was the emergence of the Hebrew nation. This assertion is made in full cognizance of the fact that the literary record in the Old Testament books Exodus to Samuel contrives to lay the emphasis upon Mosaic monotheism, and to leave the impression that the monarchy itself was a by-product of this particular type of religion. Such has been the traditional position for centuries.

Disinterestedly viewed, however, the evidence as a whole suggests that tradition "puts the cart before the horse." The Hebrew monarchy was not made by monotheism, nor even by henotheism. The movement which resulted in the taking of that important step toward social integration was stimulated by the political changes and resultant economic and social pressures suggested in the preceding chapter. The long line of Hebrew heroes whose exploits adorn the pages of the biblical book of Judges did not fight, in the first place, because they were worshipers of Yahweh. They fought because the economic and political conditions of their times were intolerable. They fought because Philistine and Canaanite together could not evolve an order that made life bearable for such as the Hebrews then were.

In the process of winning for themselves a requisite measure of freedom and opportunity these men who pioneered the path to Hebrew nationhood made of a tribal deity, Yahweh, a national god. His status grew as their developing proficiency in the arts of war and government carried the gradually coalescing Hebrew clans on to nationhood. Yet, even when the great moment which saw that achievement finally confirmed arrived, the Hebrews were still far from being monotheists, still far from being committed to that ideal of the good life and that view of the world with which the genius of later generations has informed the literary record of this stirring age.

The course which the social process in Israel took during the period of the Hebrew monarchy was not, then, determined by that distinctive religion which has come to be known as Mosaic Yahwism. That particular religious system did not create the monarchy or determine the type of the royal state which David established. Neither did it bring about those conditions under which that state declined, in spite of the fact that later students of the record again and again credit Yahweh with afflicting Israel with political humiliation for its sins.¹ Yahwism itself grew with the political state and gleaned much of its higher wisdom from the experience gained through that particular type of social integration.

It can, however, be justly claimed for Yahwism that it did condition, to an appreciable extent, those social forces out of whose operations it itself was emerging. Its contribution, in this respect, was of a dual nature. It functioned, on the one hand, for the promotion of order by

¹ E.g., the Deuteronomic editor of Samuel-Kings.

sanctioning and supporting duly constituted authority under the monarchical system. It helped to channel the energy and intelligence of the average citizen in ways that made it possible for the state to utilize these for what seemed, in the world as it was then constituted, to be to the best advantage of the Hebrew group considered as a whole.

But, on the other hand, it did not stop with the support and preservation of the *status quo*, else had there been no need to tell the story of Yahwism. Within its fold it nurtured and reared individuals who were capable of perceiving the inadequacy of its own ideal, its own philosophy, and its own ethic. As the monarchical period unfolded itself, the Hebrew national state began slowly to disintegrate. First it broke into two states. Then, as economic and political pressure from a rising tide of Mesopotamian imperialism became more intense, these states finally lost the power to co-operate and were individually broken and engulfed. In the midst of that disastrous process Yahwism produced individuals of intellectual power and of sound social insight who wrested victory out of defeat, who shifted their people's ideals from the field of political dominance to the field of cultural significance, who insisted that a social group could only survive by virtue of a social ethic. These individuals, who were nourished within the fold of a slowly evolving Yahwism, were that religion's greatest gift to the social group which it served and the salt which kept the savor in Yahwism itself. They made of the religion which had nourished them and had directed their first steps in faith, the matrix from which Jewish and Christian culture could spring. And, though

they often seemed to be attacking and even diverging from the accepted cultus of their times, they were not sectarians. The impact of their influence was, in the last analysis, not divisive but unitive. The great monument to the worth of their stormy, and often officially repudiated, spiritual pilgrimage is the Yahwism which the pages of Holy Writ, following a habit which these prophets, sages, and priests of the true Israel themselves obeyed, ascribe, as a system, to Moses.

It is the purpose of this chapter, then, to suggest the nature and intensity of those economic and political forces which operated upon and within the Hebrew group during the period when its people were seeking to fulfil their destiny through the medium of the political state.

As one follows the oldest and historically most authentic document in the books of Samuel, one becomes impressed with the fact that nationhood was imposed upon the Hebrew people in spite of themselves, or at least in spite of the resistance of strong and leading individuals in many local communities. Tribalism always dies hard precisely because there are inherent in it certain social values, such as local autonomy and the community fellowship which holds such a primary social group together, which are bound to be diminished under a wider social integration. Saul's monarchical ambitions met with some quite effective opposition² from the bolder spirits of other clans and tribes, his successor, David, being the outstanding example of his inability to mold the Hebrew clans to his will. Likewise, David himself encountered much resistance from powerful local landholders, like Nabal of Car-

² See above, p. 173.

mel, who much preferred dealing after their own fashion with sporadic raids by turbulent neighbors to being subject to the authority of a resident ruler. That such as he were potential stumbling-blocks in the way of David's plans is indicated by the pains he took to ingratiate himself with them before his power was confirmed.³ David succeeded, where Saul failed, largely because he was a brainier individual who knew enough to understand that if he would be master he must first be friend, and sometimes even seem to be servant. His genius for dramatizing himself in difficult situations in such a way as to make men feel that he wanted, as well as needed, their co-operation, coupled with the unscrupulous directness, the personal courage, and the tactical ability of Joab, carried him in the end to the realization of his ambitions. Because of these personal qualities of himself and of the group who immediately surrounded him, and because he lived in an age when the great powers of the Near East were still quiescent, and further, because national order was preferable to the disorder which had followed on the collapse of the old empires, David became king of the superficially united kingdom of Israel and Judah.

The writer of the later, theocratic strand of the books of Samuel emphasizes the idea that the Hebrew monarchy came into existence in response to a popular demand.⁴ He himself, looking back on several centuries of the Hebrew experience with this system of social control, regards the monarchy unfavorably.⁵ Unlike the earlier Yahwistic nar-

³ I Sam. 30:26 ff.

⁴ I Sam. 8:4 ff. See especially vss. 7, 10, 19 f., etc.

⁵ I Sam. 8:7, 11 ff., etc.

rator,⁶ he does not accord it the full measure of divine sanction. His views are, in respect of factual data, unreliable. Yet, there is reason to believe that, in representing the mass of the people as desiring the type of monarchy, which David established, he is reflecting not only the popular temper of his own time but is approximately close to what was, or speedily came to be, the temper of David's own times. The average peasant desired strong and authoritative rule. Just as his ancestors had accepted the authority of the old empires, so he was ready to accept the authority of the nation. Once established, David, as the story of Absalom's revolt shows, had most of the people with him. From that time on, though the average Hebrew often disapproved of an individual king, he approved of the institution of kingship.

The same later, theocratic writer is doubtless equally reliable when he represents the Hebrew kingship as being of the same general type as that which had long since been established in all the great neighboring states. It is highly probable that he recognizes this, among other things, when he represents the Hebrews of Saul's and Samuel's day as desiring to be "like all the nations."⁷ By the employment of this phrase he charges that the establishment of the monarchy was an act of conformity to a generally prevalent pattern of culture. The picture which he has Samuel draw of the abuses to which the Hebrew type of kingship will be susceptible,⁸ a picture derived from experience rather than from prevision, fits exactly the type of kingship which was prevalent all over the Near Eastern world in his own day and had been for many centuries

⁶ I Sam. 9:15 ff.; 10:1.

⁷ I Sam. 8:5, 20.

⁸ I Sam. 8:11 ff.

prior thereto. It constitutes the obverse of those visions of the ideal ruler which scintillate through the writings of the prophets.⁹ If such an inference concerning this writer's conception of the nature of the Hebrew kingship be sound, then it follows that the Hebrew monarchs were "divine kings." That, of course, does not necessarily mean that they were formally deified and worshiped as gods, as, for example, were some of the Sumerian kings of ancient Ur. But it does at the least mean that they were regarded as ruling by divine right and as being, in some sense, incarnations of deity.

When one turns to the earlier, Yahwistic strand of the books of Samuel, one encounters many indications which support the later, theocratic writer's view of the nature of the kingship. The king was "Yahweh's messiah."¹⁰ As such, the functions he was expected to discharge were not merely political but also economic and religious. The Hebrew king was, indeed, expected to save his people from their political enemies.¹¹ But he must be something more than a military leader. An ancient and authentic list of David's executive officers mentions the fact that "David and his sons were priests (*cohanim*)."¹² There can be no doubt that on the occasion of the conducting of the ark to its resting-place in David's royal sanctuary at Jerusalem the king of the newly founded state acted in that capacity. Not only so, but the nature of his conduct on that occasion and the fact that he dispensed to the assembled multitude the "raisin cake,"¹³ which the prophets

⁹ Isa. 9:2-7; 11:1-9; 42:1-4; Mic. 5:1-3, etc.

¹⁰ I Sam. 26:9; cf. 24:10.

¹² II Sam. 6:1 ff.

¹¹ I Sam. 10:1.

¹³ II Sam. 6:19.

later associate with a cultus that seems to them to be pagan, indicate that David was already committed to that widely accepted conception of kingship which made the person of the king the tip of the ecclesiastical funnel through which the will of deity was conveyed to, and imposed upon, the people. Indeed, the Yahwistic record gives us clearly to understand that David already favored that type of kingship while he was still no more than chieftain of a band of hunted outlaws.¹⁴ That the king was expected to function as the fructifier of the nation or, in other words, as the guarantor of its economic prosperity, is indicated in many passages though, naturally enough, there are fewer traces of this in the historical narratives than in literature which directly or indirectly reflects the ritual of the national cultus. In what is described by some critics as a "post-redactional expansion" of II Samuel, however, there is a clear inference that, as king, David was charged with the responsibility of taking the action necessary to propitiate the deity in case of famine.¹⁵ That this was but a more or less negative aspect of a positive function of fructification which laid upon the ruler personal responsibility for the economic prosperity of the state seems highly probable from many allusions by the prophets to the myth and ritual pattern and to the royal part in cultic ceremonies.¹⁶

¹⁴ I Sam. 26:7-11; cf. 24:6. Though chapter 24 is attributed by some authorities to the J source and chapter 26 adjudged to be later, the reverse seems to us to be the case. Cf. H. A. Creelman, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 74.

¹⁵ II Sam., chap. 21. Cf. A. R. S. Kennedy, *I & II Samuel* ("Century Bible"), pp. 19, 296 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. W. C. Graham, "Isaiah's Part in the Syro-Ephraimitic Crisis," *AJSL*, L (1934), 201 ff.

Such, then, was the type of kingship established by David, though he found not a little difficulty in bringing some of his strongest supporters, such as Joab, who had been reared in a much more democratic atmosphere to conform to a way of life the very genius of which was the subjection of the primary family-clan group's interests and impulses to the authority of the ruler of the centralized state.¹⁷ But what David could only begin, in this matter of the centralization of economic, political, and cultic authority, Solomon, who was a ready student of the way of the world, was able to carry much farther. He it was who firmly established this type of kingship over the relatively large area subdued by his father and Joab. Hitherto something of the same order had been doubtless set up over small city-states by some of the stronger "Canaanite" kings. And on the coast, in contemporary times, a strong city-state, based economically on maritime commerce, was already established at Tyre. But the kingdom of David and Solomon was the first inland independent state, of truly national status, to be established up to that time on the Syro-Palestinian corridor. Only as one realizes this and understands the economic basis on which this state rested is one able to appreciate the achievement of these early Hebrew kings in the matter of the material aspects of culture.

In recent years it has become a habit to deprecate and minimize the material civilization of this region during the Middle Iron Age which, as here defined, extends ap-

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., Joab's murder of Abner under the sanction of the tribal custom of blood revenge (II Sam. 3:26 f). This action of Joab must have seriously embarrassed David in the carrying-out of the policies by which he hoped to realize his nationalistic ambitions.

proximately from 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C.¹⁸ The glowing colors in which the biblical records depict the glories which were Jerusalem's and Samaria's in the heyday of Hebrew nationalism, which might be said to include the first century and a half of the Middle Iron Age, are often thought to exaggerate the facts. Yet, as archaeological exploration continues to disclose new evidence, it becomes more and more clear that, politically and economically, the Hebrews were then strong enough to achieve a material culture which for the first time raised Palestine, relatively speaking, almost to the level of the great ancient cultures of the two neighboring valleys.

The political strength of the Hebrews during this first century and a half of the monarchical order's existence was due to several factors. First among these is the relative immunity from active interference of the great powers in the political life of Palestine which characterizes this period. Egypt did, indeed, raid the region during the reigns of Rehoboam of Judah and Jeroboam I of Israel. But perhaps because subsequent rulers of the state on the Nile began to observe signs of the recuperation of Assyria and to appreciate the advantages of having strong and friendly buffer-states lying between it and any possible westward expansion by Assyria, Egypt, on the whole, pursued a friendly policy toward the states along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean. Assyrian aggression, on the other hand, did not directly touch the Hebrews until after this period closed and Ahab was able, in 854 B.C., to ren-

¹⁸ Most authorities consider the Middle Iron Age to extend from 900 to 600 B.C. For the purposes pursued in this volume, the division between the Early and Middle Iron ages is best placed near the beginning of Solomon's reign.

der an important military contribution to a confederation of north Syrian states which administered a severe check to Assyrian imperial ambitions at the battle of Karkar.¹⁹

Second in importance only to this factor of international politics was that of Hebrew leadership during this century and a half. David and Solomon were, each in his own way, able rulers. The catastrophe which threatened the Hebrew people after the disruption of their kingdom was happily averted, moreover, for some years by the rise of the very able Omri to the throne of Israel. His political and economic policies were so astutely conceived and so vigorously executed that they resulted in the practical political reunion of the Hebrew people through the vassalage of Judah to Israel. Only when the rash and fanatical Jehu severed this relationship by assassinating Ahaziah of Judah and Joram of Israel, the last of Omri's line, did political disaster begin to descend in real earnest upon the Hebrew states.²⁰

It is becoming increasingly clear that the biblical historians do not greatly overemphasize the economic vigor of the Hebrew political states during this time. From the days of Solomon to the times of Ahab they were only partly dependent on wealth produced within their own borders. Much extra income was derived by the court from foreign trade and the exploitation of the natural resources of neighboring conquered territories. King Solomon had at sea a fleet of "Tarshish Ships" which cruised between Mediterranean ports apparently in co-operation with the fleet of Hiram of Tyre, whose capital city was possibly

¹⁹ Cf. D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, I, 223, § 611.

²⁰ II Kings 9:1 ff.

also the home port of the Hebrew king's vessels.²¹ The goods which these ships conveyed were doubtless not all for home consumption. Solomon seems to have been a useful and necessary partner in the commercial structure which Hiram of Tyre was building up. This first turning of inland Canaan toward the Mediterranean is very significant. It presages the ultimate realization by all the inland powers of the Near East that that entire region is oriented on the Mediterranean and that sea power will constitute the deciding factor in the control of it. Solomon also had a fleet plying from Ezion-Geber, a port on the Gulf of Akabah, an arm of the Red Sea, doubtless to various ports on the Indian Ocean and its coastal waters.²² This great Hebrew merchant-king likewise conducted profitable commercial enterprises overland by caravan route. His merchants traded, among other things, in horses and chariots. They bought in centers as widely distant from each other as Kuë, which was apparently in Asia Minor, and Egypt. They sold their wares to lesser Syrian and "Hittite" kings, and possibly to even more distant local dynasts.²³ In pursuance of this purpose Solomon made provision in certain garrison centers for unusually large stabling accommodations. Here, during inclement weather, when the animals could not be herded in the open fields, he could shelter his stock and carry them over till the chance came to sell them. Thus these places were in the nature of fortified trading-posts, the stock in trade of which it would be difficult to drive off by any sudden raid.²⁴ Among these trading-posts were Megiddo

²¹ I Kings 10:22 ff.

²³ I Kings 10:26 ff.

²² I Kings 9:26.

²⁴ I Kings 9:16 ff.

and Taanach. The stables are so far best illustrated by the excavations at Megiddo, where the entire northeast quarter of the city was devoted to them. In this area there were uncovered three units of stables, as well as evidence showing that other stables had existed in close proximity. The accompanying illustration of one of these units is from a model in plaster of Paris which was made by Mr. Olaf E. Lind, of the Oriental Institute's expedition staff.²⁵

The particular unit illustrated (see Fig. 35) had five divisions, each capable of accommodating twenty-four horses. These stables, with their limestone mangers and squared upright posts furnished with tie-holes for the halters of the horses, constitute one of the most spectacular archaeological discoveries in Palestine in recent years. At the south end of the Solomonic city at Megiddo were uncovered the remains of another unit of stables having the same capacity. This unit was in connection with one of two large walled inclosures. The uses to which the latter were put cannot now be determined. They may have served as a fortress on some occasions. On others they may have been used as a parade ground or, even more possibly, as a show ring in which horses were exhibited to prospective purchasers.²⁶

Quite considerable as were the proportions assumed by this particular commercial enterprise of Solomon, a recent discovery has made it quite possible that it was far from

²⁵ See P. L. O. Guy, *New Light from Armageddon*, OIC, No. 9 (1931), pp. 37 ff.

²⁶ Cf. W. F. Albright, "A Summary of Archaeological Research during 1934 in Palestine, Transjordan, and Syria," *AJA*, XXXIX (1935), 138.

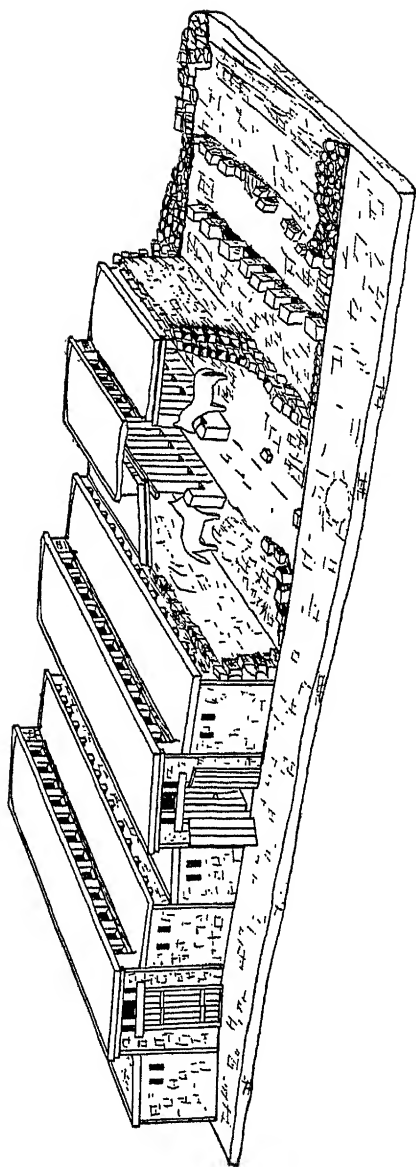


FIG. 35.—A unit of Solomon's stables at Megiddo. (After O. E. Lind, in *OIC*, No. 10, p. 40, Fig. 29)

being the chief source of the royal revenue. A great deal of Solomon's very considerable purchasing power may well have been due to his exploitation of certain copper mines located in the Arabah, between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba, in what was properly Edomite territory. In exploring this region, during the summer of 1934, Dr. Nelson Glueck found and reported comparatively rich copper fields. An examination of the pottery on the surface of these deposits showed that they had been worked from approximately 1100 B.C. to about 800 B.C. or probably even a little later.

The approaches to the mining area from the north and west were guarded by a fortified acropolis, the modern remains of which are known as Khirbet Hamr Ifdan. Five miles to the south lay a large site known as Khirbet en-Nahas (Copper-Ruins), where ore had been both mined and smelted. In the immediate vicinity were ruined houses, small furnaces, and heaps of black slag. In the midst of this mining camp was a large, square, walled inclosure about 250 feet square in area. The walls were of about 6 feet in thickness, and within them were the ruins of other buildings and furnaces as well as heaps of similar slag. These remains were interpreted by Dr. Glueck as those of a large prison camp where mines and furnaces were worked by forced labor. It is known that much of the royal industry of Solomon's times was accomplished in this way through the *corvée*, for the management of which special officers were appointed by royal warrant.²⁷

Other mining sites were also found in this vicinity. At modern Feinan one was observed which may even have

²⁷ I Kings 4:6; 9:20; 11:28.

been worked as far back as the Early Bronze Age. The richest site discovered was located at modern Meneiyyeh, on the Palestinian side of the Arabah, about twenty miles north of the Gulf of Akaba. Here was found a great acropolis where guard was once maintained over six neighboring mining camps. The sides of the wady on which this site lies are lined with masses of copper-bearing ore.

It is interesting to note the close proximity of Solomon's port of Ezion-Geber to this mining district. It seems wholly justified to infer that, when outward bound on the voyages from which they returned with the gold, the silver, the red sandalwood, the ivory, the exotic spices, and innumerable other commodities and objects which contributed to the sumptuous splendor of Solomon's court, they carried cargoes of copper, with which their officers traded for the goods which they knew would delight their master and his retinue. It is not at all beyond the bounds of possibility that some of these voyages carried these intrepid sailors to the shores of India. The period normally consumed by a voyage of Solomon's Mediterranean fleet was three years,²⁸ and it is entirely reasonable to assume that the voyages of the Ezion-Geber fleet might consume as much time.

It was doubtless these same mines which furnished the great quantities of copper which were used in the construction of the royal buildings at Jerusalem. The massive free-standing pillars, Boaz and Jachin, which were placed before Solomon's royal chapel, or temple, were 27 feet high and 18 feet in circumference and were fabricated of bronze. Within the temple court was the huge molten

²⁸ I Kings 10:22.

"sea," which was $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 45 feet in circumference, and which rested on the backs of twelve brazen oxen. This cultic object, holding 16,000 gallons of water, which perhaps symbolized the abyss of the sea and the fertilizing waters, was molded of bronze. So also were the two hundred pomegranates, symbol of fertility, with which the building was decorated, as well as many other objects connected with the cultus. In the light of these facts it is not hard to see that these copper mines were to Solomon's administration what oil fields are to some modern governments, a source of transportable and marketable wealth sufficiently great to allow of export and the establishment of favorable foreign-trade balances. When the biblical historian asserts: "There was no weighing of the bronze from which he made all these vessels, because it was so very much," one can readily believe that he was not at all exaggerating the facts. Much of the lavish and barbaric royal splendor of Solomon's régime may be explained by the exploitation of these mines.²⁹

The biblical record, which reached its present form in the hands of writers who were far from being disposed to magnify the glories of Samaria, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, is by no means so explicit about the details of the material culture which flourished there. But the archaeological exploration of this site, which is today known as

²⁹ N. Glueck, "King Solomon's Copper Mines," *ILN*, July 7, 1934, pp. 26 ff.; "Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb," *BASOR*, No. 55 (1934), pp. 3 ff.; "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II," *AASOR*, XV (1935), 1 ff. Cf. W. J. Phythian-Adams, "Israel in the Arabah," *PEFQS*, XLV (1933), 137 ff., and *The Call of Israel* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 187 ff.; also F. Frank, "Aus der Araba, I: Reiseberichte," *ZDPV*, LVII (1934), 191 ff.

Tell Sebustiyeh, confirms and supplements the information which can be gleaned about it from the pages of the Old Testament. One item of information preserved by the written record is that the city contained a "house of ivory" which had been built by Ahab.³⁰ In Ps. 45:8 there is a reference to "ivory palaces." Some authorities entertain the possibility that this psalm was used at the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel. If there is any foundation for this conjecture, the allusion here also is to the same structures mentioned in the text of Kings. These ivory palaces were still famed at the time of Jeroboam II of Israel, since the prophet Amos alludes to them.³¹

The excavations at Tell Sebustiyeh have disclosed the remains of these palaces. Their standing masonry is by far the finest yet discovered in Palestine dating from the Middle Iron Age. The well-laid stones are marginally dressed so that bosses of high decorative value are left. If, as is quite probable, the masonry of Solomon's buildings at Jerusalem was of the same type, their beauty must have been considerable.

A question solved by the excavators was the reason for the biblical designation "houses of ivory" as applied to these structures. Many beautiful ivories which had been used as decorations on the furniture and walls of the buildings were recovered from the confines of the ruins. Gazing at these it is quite easy to reconstruct, in imagination, a beautiful palace, or palaces, furnished so sumptuously with ivory-inlaid beds, tables, chairs, and wall panels as to merit the fame which Samaria's royal buildings long enjoyed.

³⁰ I Kings 22:39.

³¹ Amos 3:15.

These inlays were artistically conceived and delicately carved. Often they were themselves inset with blue or colorless glass, with lapis lazuli, and with green, red, or yellow pastes. In some inlays the details were outlined in gold leaf which, with other insets, left little of the ivory base visible. Other inlays were without inset except, perhaps, for the eyes of some carved figurine. Still others were carved in open relief, while some were solid. There were also a few figurines carved in the round. Most of these little, carved ivory plaques, however, were designed to be placed side by side to form decorative bands on furniture and wall panels. It was possibly to indicate their position in relation to other plaques that some of them were marked on the back with Aramaic characters which still survived when the ivories were recovered.³²

The designs carved on these inlays are of such significance that reference must be made to them later in another connection. The origin of many of them is obviously Egyptian, since there are representations of such well-known deities of that land as Isis, Ra, Maat, Nephthys, and Horus, not to mention the winged sphinx with the Egyptian crown (see Fig. 36). The latter, as will presently appear, is the most commonly occurring representation of the cherub among the Hebrews. Other designs display motifs typical of the decorations used on Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, including palms, cherubim, and flowers.³³ Particular mention should be made here of one de-

³² The past tense has been used in describing these ivories in order to make it clear that the reference is to the original condition of the ivories. Naturally, some of them were much disintegrated when found.

³³ See I Kings 6: 29 ff.

sign which occurs also on certain ivory inlays from Arslan Tash and Nimrud.³⁴ It is "The Lady at the Window," which features the sacred prostitute peering from the window for her lovers. On one fragment of these inlays from Samaria there are two rows of Egyptian hieroglyphs



FIG. 36.—A cherub on an ivory inlay from Samaria. (After J. W. Crowfoot, *PEFQS*, Vol. LXV, Pl. 1, Fig. 2.)

which may spell the good Hebrew name Eliashib.

In spite of the strong Egyptian influence manifested in the designs of these ivories, however, it is hardly probable that they were made in Egypt or even by Egyptian workmen. The view now generally accepted is that they were more probably manufactured in Damascus or by craftsmen of that city.

This view of their origin rests on the following

facts: It is stated in the biblical record that, certainly during the reign of Omri, and probably also during that of Ahab, the traders of Damascus maintained bazaars in Samaria. From these Damascene wares would be sold, much as is the case in the Holy City today. Ahab, when he administered defeat to the overweening ambitions of Ben Hadad, stipulated, as one of the terms of peace, that the

³⁴ F. Thureau-Dangin *et al*, *Arslan Tash, Texte* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1931), pp. 88 ff.

Israelites should be allowed to distribute their products to the people of Damascus from like bazaars in that city.³⁵ As has already been mentioned, similar ivories have been found at Arslan Tash, which is near ancient Carchemish. One of these bore an inscription in which a reference was made to Hazael, who was king of Damascus a few years after Ahab's death. This is the king to whom reference is made in II Kings 8:7 ff. This allusion makes it quite probable that the Arslan Tash ivories originated in his capital. Again, when Adad-Nirari III received the tribute of Damascus in 802 B.C., included in the tribute list were "an ivory bed, an ivory couch, inlaid and bejewelled."³⁶ When to these facts one adds the observation that the style of these ivories is not strictly Egyptian, in spite of that country's influence on their motifs, the impression grows that this ivory inlay work must have been an art for which the ancient Damascus was celebrated, even as the mother-of-pearl inlaid furniture of modern Damascus enjoys a wide and enviable reputation.

Another allusion of the prophet Amos to the use in fashionable circles of furniture imported from Damascus deepens this impression:

Thus says Yahweh:

"Just as the shepherd snatches from the lion's mouth
Two shank bones or a piece of an ear,
So will the Israelites who dwell in Samaria be snatched away
With the corner of a couch and a Damascene bed."³⁷

When the great power whose approach Amos foresees has finished with Samaria, there will be left only shreds of its

³⁵ I Kings 20:34. ³⁶ D. D. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, p. 263, § 740.

³⁷ Amos 3:12. The text may mean "The Damascus work of a bed."

former glory. Among these will be that furniture of foreign workmanship so highly prized by the socially elect and wealthy of Israel's capital. If, as seems probable in view of the prophet's other reference to "ivory couches,"³⁸ he is referring here to Damascene couches inlaid with ivory at the corners, the biting sarcasm of his utterance is clear. The few shreds of their former glory which remain to the elect of the chastened Israel will be of foreign origin. They will themselves have produced nothing that will have survived the wreck of their fortunes. Thus dramatically do the ivory inlays of Samaria illustrate the biblical text and bear mute evidence to the keenness of the social insight of a Hebrew prophet. Samaria, like Jerusalem, was, in the heyday of nationalism, acquisitive rather than creative. It drew upon the outside world for the treasures which enriched, yet did not glorify, the life of the powerful few. This period of rampant nationalism was but a passing phase in the spiritual education of Israel. Not until the fallacies of the philosophy of life by which that age was dominated were exposed by the insight of the prophets and the inescapable logic of fact did the Hebrew people achieve distinction. The ivories of Samaria were beautiful, but they did not constitute "the glory of Israel."³⁹

There is reason to believe, then, in view of the evidence

³⁸ Amos 6:4.

³⁹ J. W. Crowfoot, "Recent Discoveries of the Joint Expedition to Samaria," *PEFQS*, LXIV (1932), 132 ff.; "The Ivories from Samaria," *PEFQS*, LXV (1933), 7 ff.; cf. also *PEFQS*, LXV (1933), 179; "On the Ivories from Samaria," *JPOS*, XIII (1933), 121 ff.; H. G. May, "A Supplementary Note on the Ivory Inlays from Samaria," *PEFQS*, LXV (1933), 88 ff.

so far recovered concerning the material culture of the kingdom of Israel in the ninth century B.C., that the biblical record is far from exaggerating its economic and political strength. This conclusion is confirmed by the discovery of certain ostraca which emanate from Samaria in the days of King Ahab (see Fig. 37).⁴⁰ An ostrakon (plural, ostraca) is an inscribed potsherd. About seventy-five of these pottery fragments inscribed with black ink in the Hebrew script of the period were found at Samaria in a building within a large doubly walled court. They are dated to the times of Ahab by their association with an Egyptian jar bearing the cartouche of the Pharaoh Osorkon II (874-853 B.C.).⁴¹ Much light is thrown by them upon the economic basis of the state over which Omri's able son ruled.

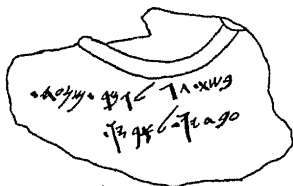


FIG. 37.—An ostrakon from Samaria inscribed: In the fifteenth year, to Gomer from Noah, Abedyo for Abiyo. (After G. A. Reisner, *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I, p. 242, No. 50.)

The inscriptions on these ostraca refer to the taxes collected in oil and wine from various administrative centers in the kingdom. Three typical records may here be translated:

No. 1. In the ninth year, to Shemaryo, from Beeryam, a jar of old wine. Rage Elisha, Uzza . . . , Eliba . . . , Baala Elisha, Yedayo.

No. 16. In the tenth year, from Saq, for Gadyo, a jar of fine oil.

⁴⁰ The religious significance of these ostraca, which is considerable, is discussed below. See pp. 279 ff.

⁴¹ Ahab's dates are 874-852 B.C.

No. 50. In the fifteenth year, for Gomer, from Noah. Abedyo for Abiyo.

A study of these ostraca reveals the fact that the relatively lavish material culture which flourished in Samaria in Ahab's days was made possible in part by well-organized fiscal administration. The model followed seems to have been the system first established by Solomon, who divided his kingdom into administrative units for purposes of taxation.⁴² Such a system would inevitably cut across existing clan and community organizations, and Solomon's action in this matter is another indication of the radical nature of the social transition which followed upon the establishment of a nation with a monarchical form of government.⁴³

The political and economic power of Israel under the early monarchs of Omri's house rested to a large extent, however, on the exploitation of neighboring territories. Omri had initiated the policy of expansion into southern Transjordan and had made the Moabite region tributary to Samaria. This southward thrust into the regions east of the Jordan appears to have been part of a strategy shrewdly designed by Omri to give his house control over Judah and bring about a practical reunion of the Hebrew kingdoms. Toward the greater states lying to the west and north of Israel, Omri adopted a cordial policy. He

⁴² I Kings 4:7 ff.

⁴³ For the ostraca from Samaria see G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), I, 227 ff., and Vol. II (plates). Cf. also the excellent discussions in A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, pp. 372 ff., and J. W. Jack, *Samaria in the Time of Ahab* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1929), pp. 37 ff.

married his crown prince, Ahab, to a princess of Tyre. He made trade concessions to Damascus. Further, by directing his forces against Moab, he was able to expand without coming into conflict with the ambitions of Damascus in the more northerly districts of the transjordan region. The steady pressure maintained by Omri on Moab unsettled not only the Moabites but also the Ammonites, whose lands lay to the east of Moab. This, in turn, seems to have brought about unsettled conditions in the territories of the Edomites, to the south of Judah. The control of this region had been, as already suggested, an important factor in the economic welfare of the Hebrew people since the times of Solomon; and it was even more necessary for Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ahab's contemporary, to preserve his authority over the Arabah. The kingdom of Israel had long reaped a steady economic advantage from its power over Moab. Mesha of Moab admits, on the Moabite stone,⁴⁴ his subjection to Omri and Ahab. The biblical record claims, doubtless without exaggeration, that the annual contribution of the "sheepmaster" king of Moab to the coffers of Israel consisted of one hundred thousand lambs and the wool of a like number.⁴⁵ But this direct enrichment of the treasury of Samaria was possibly only a minor advantage of those resulting from Omri's policy of pressing southward in Transjordan. The result issuing from that policy which really established Israel's strength among the greater states of the Syro-Pal-

⁴⁴ On the discovery of this inscription see below, p. 325. Cf. also D. Mackenzie, "Dibon, The City of King Mesa and of the Moabite Stone," *PEFQS*, XLV (1913), 57 ff.

⁴⁵ II Kings 3:4.

estinian corridor was the necessity faced by Judah, early in Ahab's reign, of seeking the help of Israel to preserve its control over the lands to the south.⁴⁶ Omri's policy, in other words, issued ultimately in forcing Judah to become a vassal of Israel and in the union of the two royal houses by the marriage of Ahab's daughter, Athaliah, to Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram.⁴⁷

It is entirely reasonable to infer that the establishment of Israel's suzerainty over Judah led to the participation of the former in whatever profits might accrue from the exploitation of the copper mines in the Arabah from which Solomon's administration had derived so much economic strength. Indeed, Omri's foreign policies may have been conceived with this as one of their major objectives. The attempt of the Moabites and Ammonites to attack Judah from the south met with disaster apparently at the hands of the wild tribesmen of that region. Jehoshaphat, with the help of his suzerain of Israel, maintained power in those lands. This seems to be indicated by the notation in I Kings 22:47: "Now there was no king in Edom," the most obvious ground for which would be the fact that the Arabah was then under the domination of the co-operating Hebrew states.

There is record in I Kings 22:47 ff. and II Chron. 20:35 ff. of an unsuccessful attempt made by the Hebrews, shortly after Ahab's death, to revive the very profitable maritime trade in which King Solomon had once engaged from the port of Ezion-Geber. The records are so contradictory that one may do no more than offer a tentative

⁴⁶ Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

⁴⁷ Cf. I. Kings 22:4; II Kings 8:18.

interpretation. It is possible that this attempt developed as a result of Israel's loss of power in Moab, which probably occurred early in the reign of Ahab's successor, Ahaziah. Up to that time the product of the mines had doubtless found its way northward. The loss by Israel of the annual tribute from Moab would provide the incentive for the attempt to realize new income by maritime expansion of this metal trade. The failure of this enterprise may also be an incident in the loss by the Hebrews of the control of the mines themselves. The biblical record indicates that during the reign of Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat of Judah, the Edomites successfully revolted and established an independent monarchy.⁴⁸ Doubtless the failure of the Ezion-Geber venture launched by Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah, together with the successful revolt of Moab, emboldened the Edomites to take this step. The passing of the mines into the control of the latter, however, appears to have led only to their ultimate abandonment.^{48a} Thus this natural resource was lost to the whole area, a circumstance which dramatically illustrates the fact that the weakness of the region along the east coast of the Mediterranean lay to a large extent in its inability to achieve a social integration which would permit it to make the most of its own situation and resources.⁴⁹ So long as a strong government could be maintained, whether in Jerusalem or Samaria, there were economic

⁴⁸ II Kings 8:20 ff.

^{48a} Glueck suggests that control of the mines was regained by Uzziah and that this was a factor in the prosperity of that period. Soon thereafter they passed, however, finally and permanently from Hebrew control.

⁴⁹ Cf. Amos 1:3—2:3.

possibilities which could be exploited for the social security of the Hebrew people. In the light of what is now known of these, it is no longer possible to condescend too much to the material culture achieved by the Hebrews during the first century and a half of their experiment with the monarchical political state. True, the enjoyment of this was limited to the privileged few; but this vicarious enlargement of the drives of desire latent in the masses played its part in stimulating the capacity to discriminate in the realm of values which comes to expression in the writings of the later prophets, priests, and sages of the true Israel.

About the middle of the ninth century B.C. the Hebrew experiment with the political state passed into a second distinct phase, which might be described as a period of slow decline in political power, broken here and there by temporary interludes of fortuitous prosperity. The responsibility for taking the first decisive step in the direction of political disintegration may be laid upon Ahab of Israel. His last public act, the initiation of the war with Damascus, in the first campaign of which he lost his own life,⁵⁰ controverted what appears to have been an established principle of the constructive foreign policy of his father, Omri. The latter had maintained cordial or conciliatory relationships with the stronger states to the north and west. This had freed him for the pursuit of his aim of asserting Israel's suzerainty over the entire southern end of the coastal corridor. In throwing down the gage of war to Damascus, Ahab began the weakening of his control over the south. The enmity toward Syria

⁵⁰ I Kings 22:1 ff.

which he bequeathed to his successors in the end proved costly. The Syrian war dragged on to the detriment of the prestige of the royal house. It stimulated and accelerated internal social tensions in Israel which finally resulted in the revolt of Jehu and the end of Omri's dynasty.⁵¹

From the economic and political angles the outstanding result of Jehu's rebellion was the throwing-off, by the kingdom of Judah, of the yoke of vassalage to the kingdom of Israel. The practical political reunion of the Hebrew people which had resulted from Omri's policies could not be maintained with Athaliah, Jezebel's daughter, now on the throne of Judah⁵² and the usurper, Jehu, reigning in her father's palace in Samaria. Jehu's action isolated Israel on all sides. The constructive policy of Omri, which had looked toward the co-operation of the Syro-Palestinian states for their mutual protection and advantage, was now abandoned.

To do Jehu justice, however, it must be admitted that, at the moment when he usurped the throne of Israel, a new factor was emerging in Syro-Palestinian politics which may have seemed to him to warrant the course he followed. This was the westward expansion of Assyria under Shalmaneser III, which reached the peak of its intensity in 842 B.C., only a few months after the accession of the usurper to Israel's throne. Shalmaneser's armies inflicted heavy losses on Damascus in this campaign. In these circumstances the policy which appealed to Jehu is possibly suggested on the so-called "Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser," found years ago by the explorer, Layard, at Tell Nimrud (the site of ancient Calah), where also

⁵¹ II Kings 9:1 ff.

⁵² II Kings 11:1 ff.

ivories, similar to the ivories of Samaria were later discovered. On one of the reliefs of this monument Jehu is represented, in typical bedouin dress, with followers who bear his tribute. The accompanying inscription suggests the nature and value of this ingratulatory contribution to the imperial coffers.

Tribute of Jehu [*Iaua*] son of Omri [*mar Humri*]. Silver, gold, a golden bowl, a golden beaker, golden goblets, pitchers of gold, lead, staves for the hand of the king, javelins, I received from him.⁵³

It is clear from this that a monarch of a reduced and isolated Israel could still command wealth. But it should be remembered that this was but the first of many similar drafts upon capital built up during the earlier days of the Hebrew prosperity, which the rulers of both the Hebrew states were to be forced to make as Assyrian demands upon the west grew more onerous during the ensuing century. From now on, these politically divided kingdoms were much less able to augment their revenues by the exploitation of territories beyond their own borders. Little by little their own internal resources were depleted by the imposition of increasingly heavy burdens of taxation upon their people. The importance which this resource of domestic taxation assumed as the monarchies declined, and the care which was taken in the collecting of the taxes, is strikingly illustrated by the many stamped royal jar handles, dating from the late pre-exilic period, which have been recovered by excavators in the territory of the kingdom of Judah (see Fig. 38). It is possible that Hezekiah may have initiated the use of these tax jars in the reform which he sponsored near the close of the eighth century.⁵⁴

⁵³ D. D. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, p. 211, § 590.

⁵⁴ II Kings 18:4 ff.

Apparently they were invented in the south, since none have ever been found in the north, not even at Bethel or Samaria.⁵⁵

These jar handles are stamped with a seal consisting, in some instances, of a winged scarab; in others, of a winged scroll, above which is stamped the label, *le-Melek* (belonging to the king), to indicate that the jar and contents are royal property. Beneath the scarab or scroll is stamped the name of the city from which the contents of the jar was a contribution to the royal treasury. A study of existing jar handles reveals that the kingdom of Judah was fiscally well organized into administrative districts, on the model followed by Solomon and Ahab. The headquarters of four of these districts were located at Hebron, Succoth, Ziph, and Mamshath. The jars thus stamped were probably of regulation size to facilitate the checking of the tax. Professor Albright has suggested that they may have held the measure known as a *bath*.⁵⁶

But the "Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser" is just as significant from a political as from an economic point of view. It may be said to symbolize the rise of the new imperialism which from now on would move inevitably and invincibly toward the destruction of that nationalism which had sprung up all along the Syro-Palestinian corri-

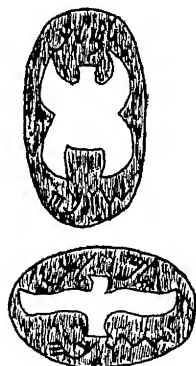


FIG. 38.—Stamps on jar handles from Judah. (After Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, Pl. 56, Nos. 7 and 8.)

⁵⁵ Cf. W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 56 (1934), p. 14.

⁵⁶ W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 124 ff.

dor after the collapse of the old empires, about 1200 B.C. From now on, the foreign policies of the chancellories of these petty states will alternate between two chief conceptions. Either they will cultivate the imperial court with the hope of enlisting its support against neighboring states or they will enter into alliances with neighboring states in the expectation of holding back the advancing tide of the new imperialism which, for several centuries now, was to sweep out of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and hurl itself farther and farther into the west.

The difficulty of navigating the frail bark of a petty state amid waters perpetually troubled by such possibilities of dilemma is illustrated by the sequel of Jehu's submissive embassy to the Assyrian camp at the height of Ashurbanipal's success against Syria in 842 B.C. Assyria kept Damascus busy until about 830 B.C., when a revolt broke out within the empire that paralyzed its powers of expansion. This gave Hazael a long-desired opportunity to renew the feud of his house with Israel. In the struggle which followed, Jehu and his immediate successor were far from acquitting themselves as well as had the monarch's of Omri's line.⁵⁷

Nor did the alternate policy of alliance with local neighbors against the imperial might of the great powers of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley yield any better result. It was this policy which Egypt encouraged more and more as the imminence of the threat of the imperial ambitions of the Tigris-Euphrates powers increased. Just a few years prior to its fall the kingdom of Israel was disastrously involved in such an alliance with Damascus. But no matter upon which horn of their political dilemma the Hebrew kings

⁵⁷ Cf. II Kings 12:17 ff.; 13:7.

seized, the result, except for brief intervals such as occurred during the reigns of Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah, was always the same. Indeed, these national states were fighting against the conditioning hand of Nature itself, which had so molded the Near East that the economic security of its two most populous regions, the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile, demanded a concert of powers which their seemingly rival interests constantly frustrated.

From the times of Ahab on, then, as the internal tensions aggravated by the pressure of the new imperialism became more acute, Hebrew nationalism steadily declined in vigor and moved irresistibly to its appointed end of final collapse. In the face of the evidence it is impossible to see how the Hebrew experiment with the monarchical political state could have ended otherwise than as it did. The mistakes of Ahab, and Jehu, and Hezekiah, and other outstanding Hebrew rulers may be blamed for no more than the acceleration of a process the trend of which had been pre-determined by Nature itself. Nationalism was not a great-enough conception to suffice the deeper needs of humanity on the Syro-Palestinian corridor. Imperialism, especially of the type exemplified by the great powers of that age, held little promise for subject peoples. It was under the spur of the frustration which their people suffered as a result of the conflict between those who sponsored these two inadequate types of social integration that the seers, sages, and scholars of the true Israel caught and transmitted to posterity a vision of a more adequate way, an ideal of a world unified by a culture which had been purged by the operations of a quickened and illuminated conscience.

CHAPTER VII

DISINTEGRATING CULTURE AND REGENERATIVE CONSCIENCE

In the human evolution the crystallization of life into a pattern of culture is, indeed, prerequisite to the rise and development of conscience.¹ That capacity of the individual which is so denoted is evoked, in the first instance, by the norms of living which have thus established themselves in the group into which one is born. It inevitably and rightly continues to be dominated by these so long as that particular way of living yields satisfaction. But Conscience never discharges to the full its social function so long as it is thus wedded to Convention. The highest use of conscience is regenerative. Its task is the transformation of the way of life.

This is nowhere better illustrated than in the "Sermon on the Mount." There the conscience of Jesus plays regeneratively upon the conventional standards of Jewish society. "I came not to destroy but to fulfil"—that is the voice of regenerative Conscience, the conscience that is informed by the discriminating mind, the conscience that has freed itself from the domination of the merely present and actual through perceiving and analyzing the inadequacies of the mold in which contemporary life shapes itself.

From the standpoint of importance to human posterity as a whole, one of the most significant phases of the historical human process that ever occurred in any age or

¹ Cf. above, pp. 16 ff.

area worked itself out in Palestine during the Middle Iron, or Hebrew, Age. It is essential to the purpose here pursued that an attempt should be made to expound both what actually occurred and what seemed to be occurring to those who were most directly responsible for bringing it to pass. Some attempt must also be made to show why there was a disparity between what actually took place and what seemed to some to take place. For it is the latter, rather than the former, which has perpetuated itself most influentially in the minds of posterity, though not with unmixed benefit to those most influenced by it.

If the evidence considered in the preceding pages has been soundly interpreted, human life in Palestine, as the Hebrew period opened, was, as a whole, patterned in a cultural mold which had been transmitted, even if somewhat tardily, from the great surrounding civilizations. What normally happens to such transmitted patterns of culture in their new environment has been suggested by a recent writer in terms of three processes which are set up in them, usually with some degree of simultaneity—the processes of adaptation, disintegration, and degradation.² The transmitted way of life must be adjusted to the peculiar human needs of the new environment. In so far as this is found to be impossible, disintegration takes place as unadaptable features of the pattern detach themselves from its assimilated and adapted elements. Degradation occurs as these rejected features lose their original meaning and, failing of the power to command human approval and faith, float down into the future “like dead things pretending to be alive.”³

² Cf. S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 5 ff.

³ Cf. G. Murray, *Tradition and Progress*, pp. 18 f.

It is possible to observe all three of these processes at work in the pattern of culture the transmission of which to Canaan was probably inaugurated by the Hyksos.⁴ The process of adaptation appears to be in full swing down nearly to the close of the Late Bronze Age. In the political situation which had obtained on the Syro-Palestinian corridor under the domination of the Hyksos and of the old empires, it had been relatively easy to adapt this way of life to the needs of the people of that region. It was a way which centered human attentiveness on material productivity. So long as that region continued to enjoy a vigorously imposed political control, such preoccupation of its peoples with the forces which operate in nature was not without a large measure of social value. Disintegration began to set in seriously only with the waning of the authority of the old empires. But it was considerably retarded, in Palestine at least, when, after the political upheaval which marked the Early Iron Age, there emerged the Hebrew monarchy.

This political structure, as has already been suggested,⁵ was fashioned after a model which was an integral part of this transmitted culture pattern in the regions whence it had been transmitted to Palestine.⁶ David and his successors set out to fulfil the same functions as had been fulfilled by the ruler, from ancient times, in the great neighboring cultures. The Hebrew monarchy, indeed, constituted a magnificent final effort to adapt this borrowed pattern to the needs of the peoples of the coastal corridor.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 81 ff.

⁵ Cf. above, pp. 182 ff.

⁶ Cf. A. R. Johnson, "The Rôle of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus" in S. H. Hooke (ed.), *The Labyrinth* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1935), pp. 73 ff.

But Hebrew nationalism could only temporarily halt the process of the disintegration of this culture. As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the new empires, operating on a logical development of essentially the same plan and philosophy of life, foredoomed the Hebrew state to political failure. The process of the degradation of this pattern must have gone on apace there, as it did in many of the neighboring petty states, had not a fourth, quite different, process been set in motion. This process may be described as one of regeneration. It was set in motion by a notable manifestation of highly developed conscience which occurred under the Hebrew monarchy as the social inadequacy of the transmitted culture pattern was laid bare under the intense economic and political pressures to which the Hebrew state was subjected. The outcome of the working of this regenerative process was the conservation for posterity of the really durable values of that ancient, transmitted pattern of life.

The great contribution of the Hebrew peoples to the Near Eastern cultural evolution was, then, not creative but regenerative. Their claim to distinction does not lie in the rejection of an existing culture and the substitution of a new one. It lies in the fact that it may be said of them that they saved from the degradation into which it elsewhere was to fall much of the pattern of culture which had been transmitted to them from contemporaneously greater peoples. Through a remarkably sustained and sapiently utilized manifestation of conscience they transformed the way of the world into a way which was peculiarly their own and yet was inherently more capable of becoming again the way of the world than it had ever been before.

To some of the prophets of Israel should go the credit for the stimulation of this regenerative and transformative process. Such belongs peculiarly to those of them who were able to free themselves sufficiently from the domination of the prevailing system to be able to criticize it and disclose the inadequacies of the philosophy of life which sustained it. It has long been customary to speak of them as the "true prophets," in contradistinction to the "false prophets" who functioned within the dominant cultus and devoted their efforts to the sanctioning and the support of the existing order of life. Yet, like all such labels, these are but casual and misleading. The distinction between these two types of prophet lies even more in the realm of social function than in those of morals and philosophy. Neither type had a monopoly of truth or virtue. The "false prophets" were institutionalists. As such they were doubtless no more "false" than priests, or courtiers, or kings. It is a mistake against which, unhappily, the higher criticism has not always sufficiently guarded itself, to allow judgment of the worth and integrity of either of these groups to be warped by susceptibility to the partisan spirit which they engendered in each other.⁷ For, while, to their own experience, the established religious orders which supported the *status quo* and the critical religious individuals who attacked it were antipathetic and antagonistic to each other, these feelings, and the derogatory judgments which they passed upon the social value of the several functions they discharged, were entirely valid only from an *ex parte* viewpoint. Looking at the whole tide

⁷ Cf. the remarks of Principal D. C. Simpson in S. H. Hooke's *Myth and Ritual*, pp. ix ff.

of life which swept them all on to destiny, even as they were struggling with each other in its swirling waters, it becomes clear that these conflicting groups were actually complementary factors in conditioning its flow. Without the socially effective cultic instrument, which the institutionalists were determined at all costs to conserve, the regenerative power of conscience, which it was the function of the other group to stimulate, would have been dissipated in mere agitation and innovation.

It is not at all too much to say that Hebrew prophetism became uniquely influential not only because of its own innate intellectual and moral vigor but because it took its rise within a society whose people had not learned to spurn the religious cultus as a vehicle of socially valuable ideas and attitudes. It was only through the regenerative and transformative influence which critical prophecy exercised upon this cultus that its own deeper social insight was woven into the fabric of a people's life. The religious spirit cannot long enjoy a healthy existence apart from a socially adequate cultic body. It is a spirit which thrives only as it strives for catholicity of expression. It must make itself, even if in a diluted form, the heritage of the many rather than the distinction of the few. The cultus is the instrument by which it becomes such. On the cultic loom the coruscating threads of its visions of verity find their proper setting in a commonplace which they glorify. They become part of a whole that is ever in the making, a whole which vastly transcends and outreaches the only partial glimpses of it which are vouchsafed to any individual, even to the individual of genius. One must see the latter, whatever his order, in terms of the part he plays in

setting the pattern which includes and conditions the life of the masses. Only those elements of the individual contribution which must become part of this pattern have any durable worth. The immortals are not merely those who are different, but those who are inexorably and inescapably different, those who come to societies of men bearing gifts so significant that they cannot finally be rejected.

Veritable cultures are not manufactured. They grow from their own roots. And growth is a relatively slow process which is dependent always upon forces which no individual organism, or association of organisms, can control. The life-process, as a whole, is conservative. Human life, along with all other forms of life, obeys this cosmic set. The masses take long to let go of the past, and never finally discard any of it which remains rooted in reality. Even as the prophets of Israel were giving utterance to those criticisms of the present and those visions of the future which would, in due course, regenerate Hebrew culture, the latter continued to be patterned in a mold which had come down from bygone centuries—a mold which was never discarded but which was only gradually transformed as the truth of those criticisms and the glory of those visions quickened the minds and souls of others who could not of themselves have perceived or beheld them.

There is, indeed, no precise parallel for this cultural achievement of the Hebrews in the whole sweep of the history of the entire ancient Mediterranean world. It is true that the rise of philosophy in Greek civilization affords many striking parallels to the development of prophecy in the Hebrew society. Like the prophets the

philosophers perceived and exposed the emotional, intellectual, and ethical incongruities of the going system. They also entertained much more clearly articulated visions of a better social order, at which they arrived through more highly developed powers of observation and reason than the greatest of the Hebrew prophets ever displayed. But among the Greeks these more intellectualistic critics, though individuals like Plato played, as defenders of values, a rôle not unlike that of the prophets, tended to exercise a negative and destructive influence upon the religious way of their people. They exerted little or no regenerative effect upon the cultus itself, whereas, in the case of the Hebrews, priest, cult-prophet, sage, and executive learned to co-operate in attuning the cultic instrument to the more adequate insights of individual genius. They did not, for example, discard the ancient myths and rituals as being literally untrue. They seem to have recognized instinctively their value as symbols of an attitude to life and to have accommodated them for use as vehicles of the more advanced ideal and world-view which the prophets enunciated.

There is, perhaps, no better example of the accommodation of the ancient myth-ritual vehicle to nobler uses than the first chapter of Genesis. It sprang originally, as one cannot doubt, from a very old and widely circulated polytheistic myth which had long been part of the cultural furnishing of Canaan when the Hebrews began their penetration of that land. This creation myth was itself part of a cycle of myths through which were inculcated in the masses two dispositions which were, of themselves, not without social value. One of these was the disposition to-

ward preoccupation with the production of material goods. The other was the disposition to submit to authority as manifested in dominating individuals. They were not evil dispositions, but only partially good. They were not wrong, but only partially right. The spiritual aspects of life rise from the use of material things, and satisfying social order can only exist through humanly mediated authority. Men must toil to produce, and they must obey.

The first chapter of Genesis reached its present form in the custodianship of the priests of Israel's cultus. They have conserved in it both these socially valuable attitudes of industry and submission to order. Since, as compared with the original from which it developed, it tells a minimum concerning the life and actions of deity, this myth may be said to be slightly degraded.⁸ But under the stimulation of prophecy these devotees of the cultus have introduced into it a quality that it did not have before it was revised to conform with prophetic theology. The myth has been monotheized. The fruitfulness which it enjoins has become a means rather than an end; and the

⁸ Prophetic influence doubtless had much to do with the tendency toward associating myth and its ritual expression with the past history of the nation, or with the history of institutions (as has happened here in the association of the creation story with the sabbath) rather than with actions of deities. So, for example, the Passover, originally a mystery-agricultural festival, became, *par excellence*, a national institution. Cf. the treatment of the Passover in the prophetically influenced Deuteronomic regulations (Exod. 12:25-27, Deut. 16:1 ff.) with the regulation in the primitive codes (Exod. 12:21-23; 23:18; 34:25). See J. Morgenstern, "Origin of Massoth and Massoth Festival," *AJT*, XXI (1917), 275 ff., H. G. May, "The Relation of the Passover to the Festival of Unleavened Cakes," *JBL*, LV (1936), 68 ff.

authority which enjoins it is that of a cosmic whole to which all, including those in whom social authority is vested, are subject. This is not, according to this revised version of Creation, a world in which one must bow to those who merely possess authority; but it is a world in which one ought only to bow to those who exert authority in the interests of harmony and satisfying relationship between all its parts. Man is freed from the domination of the part to become the collaborator of the divine mind which conceived the whole. The individual's relationships to other individuals are guided by the principle that no authority is valid which is not as applicable to those through whom it is manifested as to those over whom they exert it. Such are the social implications of the clear monotheism which now differentiates this version of the creation myth from its original progenitor. The finest summary of them, which is found in the golden rule enunciated by Jesus, is congruous only with a theocentric cosmos.

The regenerative work of conscience upon the cultus and culture of Israel is reflected in the pages of the Old Testament. Because the fires of the religious genius of individuals have fused the originally incidental records of a people's life into a fundamental, normative, sacred scripture, its pages are suffused with a sense of unique revelation. Rightly so! And none the less rightly because the immediacy and urgency of that sense of divine disclosure has distorted the picture of the process by which it was received.

Even the prophets, who were in the very van of the assault of conscience upon a decadent culture pattern, al-

ready had, in some cases more than in others, a feeling that they were engaged in reviving an ancient and obsolescent revelation. Hosea thus reports the deity:

When Israel was a child, I came to love him
And from Egypt I called him.

Yet, like the realistic Ezekiel,⁹ he knows that the call evoked no response in that early age:

The more I called the more they went away from me;
They sacrificed to the Baals
And made offerings to idols.¹⁰

But Jeremiah, who, significantly enough, is a century farther removed from the early culture of his people, and who is, even more significantly, himself the heir of two centuries of critical prophetism, is much more inclined to find the roots of that true culture, which he hopes may become the Hebrew way, in the distant past:

Stand by the ways, and look,
And ask for the ancient paths—
Where is the good way, and walk in it;
And you shall find rest for yourselves.¹¹

Yet, if the material evidence of the cultic remains of the age is worth anything at all, the "revelation" of the better way was not given once for all at any stated holy site. It is gold slowly and painfully panned from the uneven bed of the turbulent river of life. Back of it lie centuries of wearing toil for ephemeral treasure, long generations of social frustration and humiliation, fleeting intervals of fortuitous yet exhilarating success, black hours of inscrutable and paralyzing political failure—in short, centuries of experimenting with the world's way which yielded, at

⁹ Cf. Ezek., chaps. 23 ff.

¹⁰ Hos. 11:1 ff.

¹¹ Jer. 6:16.

last, not at first, a significant vision of a distinctive culture.

It is the regenerative vocation which imparts to conscience a sense of creative and revelatory origin. As critic of culture it is wiser, and therefore seems to be older, than culture itself. The religious genius, in whom conscience rises to its highest social function, is invariably of those who are in quest of the absolute, those for whom life has meaning as a pursuit rather than as an accomplishment. For such the end and the beginning are one; and the more perfect always has priority, even in time, over the less perfect. To them it is unthinkable that what ought to be has not always, somehow and somewhere, been.

But this tendency of the prophet to give precedence, both in time and value, to a conception of Israel's calling and destiny which, through his own ministry, was only then beginning to dawn upon the consciousness of his group would never have exerted such influence upon the Hebrew rationalization of the past as it did finally come to wield had it not been for the reinforcement which it received from nationalism. The economic and political rivalry which was one of the fruits of nationalism helped to build up in a few a corresponding sense of religious and cultural conflict which, however, was very slow to make itself felt in the consciousness of the mass. Political nationalism, when it became impregnated with prophetic idealism, produced an embryonic cultural particularism which was destined to exercise a profound influence upon the Hebrew rationalization of the past.

Nationalism alone could never have been, from the cultural viewpoint, so influential. Only in the minds of those

who were deeply enough dissatisfied with the prevalent order to wish not merely for a successful Israel but for a different Israel could this cultural particularism take root. Ahab, for example, could tolerate Tyrian Baalism because Tyre, as his ally, was necessary to Israel's political success. He felt, and there is the best of reason for believing that the rank and file of his people also felt, no conflict of ideal, of world-view, or of cultus technique between Tyrian Baalism and Yahwism as it was then generally practiced. From a factual standpoint he was right on this point. The prophetic and historical writings, as well as the material remains of the cultus, strongly support the conclusion that Tyrians and Hebrews alike lived by a philosophy of life derived from an ancient, religiously patterned culture which long antedated nationalism itself, and which, so far as it went, was of catholic, rather than nationalistic, significance.

It was the response of the vast majority of all classes to the catholicity which inhered in the dominant pattern which was denounced by the cultural particularists of the time as apostasy. It is very significant that the religious syncretism which flourished in this age seemed to be apostatic only to those who were in conflict with some or all of the aspects of the existing order. Jehu, for example, developed a cruel and bigoted Yahwism from the root of political dissatisfaction and ambition. Yet there is absolutely nothing in his record, or in that of his royal descendants, to indicate that the Yahwism he championed was, either morally or intellectually, on any higher plane than the Tyrian Baalism he so ruthlessly uprooted. Only where religious particularism was rooted in sincere concern for

human values did nationalism help to focus it so that it became culturally significant. To individuals like the critical prophets in whose minds such a fusion took place it was inevitable that the trends which they deplored in Hebrew society should seem to be foreign rather than native, contemporary in origin rather than of long standing. Yet, all around them, at every crossroad shrine, at every village high place, at every more pretentious urban temple, and even in Solomon's sacred edifice, there were being celebrated the rites of an ancient cultus in the underlying faith and philosophy of which there had been no significant change since long before the birth of the Hebrew nation. The foreign pressure which was the concomitant of nationalism was not, in other words, fundamentally responsible for the social situation which these cultural particularists were seeking to alleviate. Israel had not fallen away from an ancient revelation through contemporary political pressure. The task which the Hebrew protestants were assuming of making their people psychologically "different" had never been attempted until they attempted it themselves. Israel had not only lately been perverted to the world's way. Even before it had achieved any self-consciousness as a social group, its people had been drawn into a pattern of culture the psychological essentials of which were the same all over the productive and thickly settled areas of the Near East.

That the basis of the susceptibility of Palestinians to foreign cultural influence during the Hebrew period was long habituation to a similar philosophy of life, rather than immediate political domination or community of interest, may be perceived from a moment's reflection

upon the tenacity of Egyptian influence on the common people of Palestine during this time. Among the objects dating from this period most commonly found by excavators are little faïence figurines of the ugly Egyptian dwarf-god, Bes, or of the cat or lion deity, Bast, or of the Uzat or Horus Eye, which was commonly believed to pos-

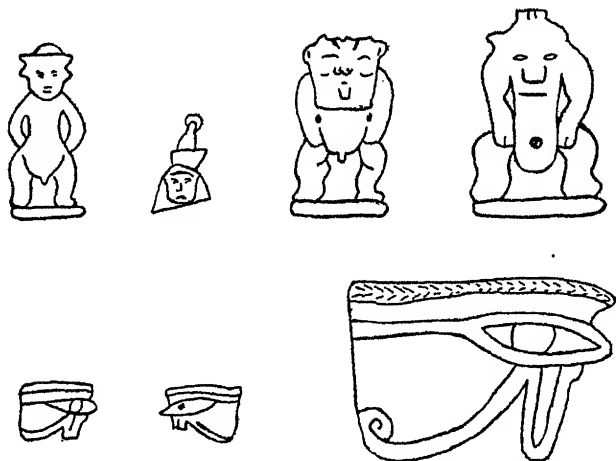


FIG. 39.—Egyptian amulets from Gerar. (After W. M. F. Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XLV, Nos. 22, 25, 31, 40, 43, 64, 65.)

sess great virtue for resisting the baleful spells of evil spirits (see Fig. 39). These Egyptian charms and amulets occur in such numbers, from the early days of intense Egyptian interest in Palestine right down through the Hebrew period, that their wide popularity cannot be doubted.

The persistence of this influence of Egypt through the Hebrew period can hardly be explained in terms of contemporary political pressure. It is true that hardly had

the Hebrews attained political significance until contemporary pharaohs began to manifest an aggressive interest in their affairs.¹² It is also true that the interest of Egypt in Palestine was intensified, though the nature of its manifestation was altered,¹³ after the threat of Assyrian ambition in the west became serious. Yet, the people of Palestine could not have been unconscious in this age that the political vitality of Egypt was on the wane. Again and again they were reminded by the prophets of the untrustworthiness of Egypt as an ally. Common political and economic interest may have weighed heavily with the governing classes. But the bond between Palestine and Egypt which the scathing irony of the prophets and the bitter experience of Egyptian duplicity and unreliability in times of crisis could not dissolve must have been forged under more sustained pressures than those of contemporary political necessity. It was a cultural bond. Palestine had long been schooled in "the way of Egypt," the undoubted values of which seem to have appealed vastly to its common people.

As the material remains of the cultic life of Palestine in this period continue to accumulate, the impression of this peoples' long-standing and deep-seated assimilation to the catholic culture pattern of that age is deepened. It becomes also correspondingly impossible to attribute the clear henotheism and the emerging monotheism which are the distinctive contributions of the prophetic reaction to

¹² Cf. I Kings 3:1; 9:16; 14:25 ff. On the latter passage cf. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 350, § 712, and C. S. Fisher, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, OIC, No. 4 (1929), Figs. 7a, b, 8, 9.

¹³ Cf. above, pp. 186 f.

that pattern to any earlier age. They are so clearly the exception and not the rule, in the Hebrew period, that one can hardly posit an earlier influential expression of them in that region without calling in question their inherent worth.

The material remains of the cultic life of Palestine during the Hebrew period tell a story of the incorrigible polytheism of the rank and file of the people which corroborates the witness left on the pages of Holy Writ by those who protested the dominant social trends of the times. The natural impulse is to call in question the extent to which the objects now to be discussed were in use in the Yahweh cultus itself. Yet, since the protestants of the period are overwhelmingly supported in their charge that the religion of the masses and classes was polytheistic, there is every reason to regard as equally reliable their contention that the "regular" Yahwism of the time was of the same order.¹⁴

Among the most frequently recovered cultic objects of this period are clay figurines of the mother-goddess. In some types she is represented in the nude, and in all types the sexual features of the body are emphasized. The best published collections of these from Palestinian sites are those dealing with the figurines discovered at Gezer, Megiddo, and Gerar.¹⁵ Good examples, however, may be found in the publications of the excavations of almost any site in Palestine which has been thoroughly investigated.

¹⁴ Cf. II Kings, chap. 23, and many passages in the writings of the pre-exilic prophets.

¹⁵ R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. III, Pls. CCXX, CCXXI; W. F. M. Petrie, *Gerar* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1928), Pls. XXXV, XXXVI; H. G. May, *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pls. XXIII-XXXI.

In addition to these most common representations in clay, figures of the earth-Mother sculptured in stone are also occasionally found.

That these figurines of the Hebrew period are the lineal descendants of earlier types known as far back as Hyksos times seems the most reasonable view of the matter. Mother Earth worship, once established in Palestine, became a constant in the religious evolution. The styles of the figurines change somewhat. In the Hebrew period the plaque type is less common, and the deity is more often molded in the round. But they are still figurines of the same deity, though she was doubtless known by various names; and, considered as a whole, they constitute overwhelming evidence of the conservatism of the popular and accepted cultus. For this particular deity pre-eminently symbolizes the anxious concern of the people with the material goods of life.

Some of the mother-goddess figurines of the Hebrew period are of the "pillar" type (see Fig. 40*B*). In these the head is made in a mold, while the body, which consists of little more than a crude stump splayed at the bottom to permit placing the figurine in an upright position, is rudely fashioned by hand. The arms, very roughly shaped, support the well-emphasized breasts. Some of these divine ladies are represented as bearing a tambourine or cake.¹⁶ Some are veiled. From Megiddo comes an unusual figurine with large bovine ears reminiscent of the Egyptian mother-goddess, Hathor.¹⁷ There is some possibility, however, that the Megiddo figurine represents a god rather than a goddess (see Fig. 40*A*).

¹⁶ May, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII.

¹⁷ See p. 138.

So many entirely identical figurines are found that it is clear that many were cast in the same mold and that the manufacture and sale of them was one of the subsidiary activities of the cultus. The certainty of this appears from the fact that at Beth-Shemesh, as well as at other sites, a

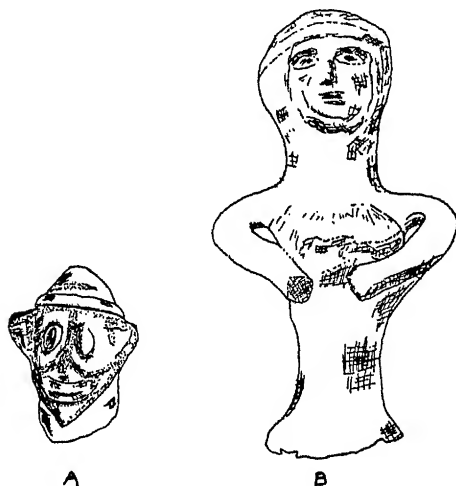


FIG. 40.—Pottery figurines of the Hebrew period. (A, after *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XXXIII, No. M₄₃₃₄; B, after *PEFA*, Vol. II, Pl. XXIII.)

mother-goddess mold was actually found¹⁸ in association with several heads of such figurines. When a cast was made in the mold, the result was a head of similar features to those cast, in the same mold, in antiquity. The crudity of these molds bespeaks the degradation of this feature of the pattern which is also clearly reflected in prophetic allusions to mother-goddess worship.¹⁹

¹⁸ E. Grant, "Beth-Shemesh in 1933" *BASOR*, No. 52 (1933), Pl. XXII, No. 5; H. G. May, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIII.

¹⁹ Cf. Hos., chap. 9.

The goddess portrayed by these images was also symbolically represented in the persons of the sacred prostitutes who were attached to the shrines. Their function was to symbolize the activities of the goddess of fertility and to stimulate in the worshipers the psychology of productivity. There is no doubt that, in its origins, this feature of the pattern had certain social values. It was capable of being used to inculcate a sense of the sacredness and mystery of life. But the very concentration of attentiveness on the physical which it tended to induce made it an exceptionally useful tool in the hands of an exploitive aristocracy and priesthood. Little by little, it lost its social usefulness, became a burden upon society, and, where it was not sublimated, passed into that complete state of degradation which was noted by Lucian.²⁰

It remains as one of the great cultural achievements of the Hebrews that, in the course of time, they managed to eliminate from their cultic life the practice of religious prostitution, while at the same time retaining that full-orbed love of, and reverence for, the physical goods of life which it originally symbolized and inculcated. Hebrew religion has, consequently, always avoided that attenuated asceticism which springs from making a sharp distinction between flesh and spirit. It has had its ascetics. But these have always been more impressed by the corruptibility of spirit than by the corruptness of matter. They have followed abnegation, not as a means of escape

²⁰ Cf. above, p. 96. On mother-goddess worship as a feature of the cultic pattern among the Hebrews, see W. H. Schoff (ed.), *The Song of Songs: A Symposium* (Philadelphia: Commercial Museum, 1924), pp. 48 ff.; W. C. Graham, *JR*, 1934, pp. 306 ff.; T. J. Meek, *AJSL*, XXXIX (1922), 1 ff.; L. B. Paton, *BW*, XXXVI (1910), 26 ff.

from evil, but as a condition to be met in the overcoming of it. Disaster lies in wait for man in his own mind through which he may, under his Creator, either exercise dominion over matter or be conformed to it. In this recognition of the intimate relationship between the physical and the spiritual which carries into both Christianity and Judaism from the Hebrew religion roots that aspect of these modern faiths which expresses itself in the social gospel's insistence that the material welfare of man is directly related to his spiritual progress. The concern of the Hebrew prophets with the distribution of material goods is as much a confession of this viewpoint as is the emphasis placed upon the production of them by the popular cultus which the prophet so bitterly criticized.

This appreciation of the physical which comes to its first crude social expression in mother-goddess worship had, with the Hebrews as with the Greeks, sublimative possibilities on the aesthetic side. Greek poetry and drama sprang in part from dramatizations of the myths of the fertility cult,²¹ and Greek art was strongly influenced by motifs developed in nature-worship. The same appreciation of sheer beauty and of the power of love comes to classic expression in the Song of Songs, which has been designated, and rightly so for the pure in heart, as the "Holy of Holies" of the Old Testament. Likewise the noble theme of the great Servant Song of Isa. 52:13 ff., which celebrates the redeeming power of love, is de-

²¹ Cf. C. N. Deedes, "The Labyrinth" in *The Labyrinth* (ed. S. H. Hooke), pp. 30 ff., and Gilbert Murray, "Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy" in Jane E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912), pp. 341 ff.

rived ultimately from the worship of nature which lies at the basis of Hebrew religion. That power of seeing God in the works of nature which is a striking feature of so much of Old Testament literature is a sublimation of an originally crude appreciation of physical values. Through the regenerative operations of conscience, desire has been educated and enlarged and yet held as the dynamic of the good life.

The seasonal festivals of the popular cultus of Palestine in the Hebrew period were joyous occasions marked by an ebullition of spirits which expressed itself in dancing and music.²² The tambourines represented on some of the mother-goddess figurines doubtless reflect this aspect of the cultic life.²³ Another object which had similar relation to cultic occasions was the pottery rattle. In appearance these are so much like a rattle used by a modern child that they have been interpreted as mere toys. In the accompanying illustration there is shown an example which is decorated with representations of a woman's breasts, thus clearly indicating the connection of such rattles with cul-

²² See Judg. 21:21; Cant. 6:13, etc.

²³ The sacred tambourine entered into the rites of Assyrian religion. This is illustrated in the following quotations from R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1932): "On the 25th in the evening, a tambourine is to be placed before the god . . . over the garments of the king. We shall perform (the rites) of Saturn at the same time. The god (will bless) the king, my lord, on account(?) [of the ceremony]" (*ibid.*, p. 167, No. 235 [Harper, No. 612]); "The tambourine, which the king my lord has placed in his palace, will be set up to-night before Marduk. He will bless the king my lord" (*ibid.*, p. 167, No. 236 [Harper, No. 625]).

tic festivities (see Fig. 41).²⁴ The use of musical instruments on these occasions is also illustrated on a bronze offering-stand discovered by Schumacher at Megiddo. This particular stand is probably to be dated from near the end of the Late Bronze period. On its support is a female figure blowing a double flute. A similar stand, decorated with the doves of the mother-goddess, was also found. These undoubtedly cultic objects, then, serve to illustrate the continuity of this feature of the popular religion which begins before the Hebrew period proper and continues throughout it.²⁵



FIG. 41.—Rattle decorated with female breasts. (After P. E. Macdonald, *et al.*, *Beth Pelet*, Vol. II, Pl. XLVII.)

decorated with the doves of the mother-goddess, was also found. These undoubtedly cultic objects, then, serve to illustrate the continuity of this feature of the popular religion which begins before the Hebrew period proper and continues throughout it.²⁵

The zoömorphism and anthropomorphism which are features of the polytheism of earlier periods in Palestine continue to be manifested in the Hebrew period. Of the anthropomorphic images of deity recovered most are feminine, although Dr. Glueck discovered male figurines in Transjordan.²⁶ It is possible, as is indeed suggested in the Old Testament record,²⁷ that it was more customary to represent Yahweh zoömorphically. Animal figurines fabricated of clay are very frequently found, though it is often impossible now to determine what species they represent. The bull images may be representations of the male consort of Astarte-Karnaim or some similar fertility goddess. The bovine character of some of the animal fig-

²⁴ For a discussion of these rattles and their uses, cf. *OIP*, XXVI, 25 ff.

²⁵ Cf. E. Steuernagel, *Tell el Mutesellim*, I, 85 ff.

²⁶ See *BASOR*, No. 51 (1933), pp. 11 f.

²⁷ See I Kings 12:25 ff.

urines from Megiddo, one of which is shown in the accompanying illustration, is clear (see Fig. 42). These are from the Hebrew period. They are hollow and are decorated with red lines. Close examination makes it clear that they were not used merely as vases; and their connection with the cultic life may be reasonably inferred, though it is now impossible to determine their uses. Since, however, figurines of sheep and goats are found, it is possible that these animal effigies may have served as amulets or charms which were thought to increase the productivity of the flocks and herds. Some pottery animal figurines are modeled carrying riders.²⁸

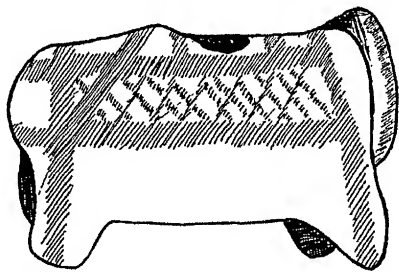


FIG. 42.—Bovine figurine from Megiddo. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XXXV, No. M4587.)

The popular use of these animal figurines in the Hebrew period serves to illustrate the adherence of the people of that age to a pattern of culture which was essentially that of the surrounding world, and to emphasize once again the continuity of their cultic life with that of preceding periods. Such animal figurines are found by excavators in other Near Eastern districts, and their occurrence in Early-Bronze-Age Palestine has already been noted.²⁹ It should be remarked that the very crudity of

²⁸ See, for instance, a specimen from Beth-Shemesh, *PEFA*, 1912-13, Pl. LV.

²⁹ See above, pp. 51 ff.

these figurines may be of significance in determining their function. They are much less carefully shaped than the anthropomorphic figurines. They are entirely made by hand, never in a mold. They are consequently often so grotesquely shaped as to seem like caricatures of the object represented. They were made, then, in response to a strictly utilitarian motive. Their use was not decorative and reflects no appreciation of the physical grace and beauty of the subject. One may infer then that they are symbols of an idea which it was desired to suggest to one who would readily grasp the import of the symbol. Consequently it seems probable that the use of these figurines lay in the realm of sympathetic magic. They were used to convey to the deity the suppliant's desire for the manifestation of the reproductive powers in his flocks and herds.

A very significant illustration of the prevalence of polytheistic nature-worship throughout the Near East is found in sun-worship, to which the people of Palestine were no strangers before and even during the Hebrew period. This feature of the Palestinian cultus in this age again illustrates the conformity of the rank and file of the people of that region to the culture pattern which was dominant in the great surrounding civilization. The worship of the sun is not to be thought of as a distinct and separate cult which commanded the interest of a sectarian minority. Among the Hebrews it was a closely integrated element in a complex cultus the matrix of which was Mother Earth worship. In all countries where the seasonal cycle is marked, the concentration of human attentiveness on the production of the fruits of the earth led

naturally to some observation of the relation of the celestial bodies to its various phases. The deity Shepesh of Ugarit was closely involved in the mythical adventures of the vegetation deity, Alein Baal, and his consort Anath. Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, was conceived both as a solar deity and as the dying and rising god of vegetation. In Egypt, where the seasonal cycle is not so marked, because of unusual climatic conditions, the solar cult of Ra rose to popularity long before that of the vegetation deity, Osiris, was introduced into the valley, probably from Western Asia. But the appeal of the earth was so strong that Osiris-worship became at last both popular and official. Osiris appropriated the attributes of Ra until he not only was identified with the sun god but came almost to displace him.

In Israel the solar cult was an integral part of the complex cultus which accepted as right and natural the presence of sacred prostitutes, the priestesses of fertility, in the precincts of Yahweh's temple,³⁰ and which adored the bronze snake, which was a symbol of procreative power. The narrator of Kings, in describing the reforming activities of Josiah writes: "He took away the horses which the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entrance of the house of Yahweh, by the chamber of Nathan Melech, the eunuch, which was among the summer houses, and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire."³¹ The

³⁰ II Kings 23:7.

³¹ In illustration of the use of sacred chariots in religious processions, and as possibly suggesting the manner in which the horses and chariots of the sun were used in the pre-Deuteronomic Jerusalem cultus, the following quotation from a letter sent to an Assyrian crown prince by one Nabu-shum-iddina should be noted: "On the third of Iyyar in the city of Calah

habitual royal patronage of the solar aspects of the Jerusalem cultus which this record obviously suggests confirms one in the belief that sun-worship was not a separate cult but an element in the system; for it is clear from much evidence that the Hebrew king was also, to the cultic mind, the incarnation of the dying and rising fertility deity. The kings of Judah, in patronizing sun-worship, were not backing a sectarian religious movement, but merely supporting, in this particular fashion, a special feature of the cultus which, as a whole, sanctioned their office and authority. The tenacity of the place of this feature, within the state religion, is confirmed by Ezekiel, who reports the continuance of sun-worship at the temple, during the closing years of the monarchy, between 597 B.C. and 586 B.C.³² If the word *hamman* is correctly translated as sun-pillar in such passages as Isa. 27:9, Lev. 26:30, and II Chron. 34:4, in the last of which it parallels "altars of the baalim," these and other passages doubtless refer to this solar feature of the accepted cultus.³³

the bed of Nabu will be prepared; Nabu will enter the bed-chamber. On the 4th the return of Nabu (will take place). The crown prince knows (that) I am the overseer of the temple of Nabu, your god; I intend to go to Calah. The god will come out of the dark shrine of the palace; when he goes from the shrine of the palace into the park, a sacrifice will be offered there. The charioteer of the deity will go into the sacred stable; he will bring forth the god and carry (him) in the procession; (then) he will bring him in (again). He, proceeding with solemn pace, will go his way" (R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 158, No. 217 [Harper, No. 65]). See also Pfeiffer's No. 253 (p. 177), in which mention is made of three white horses with harness and trappings on which was an inscription dedicating them to Ishtar of Erech from the king of Elam. They were destined originally for the temple.

³² Ezek. 8:16.

³³ Cf., however, W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, IX (1929), 50 ff.

Archaeological research tends to support the existence of solar features in the official Jerusalem cultus, which was doubtless not unique in Palestine in this regard. It has been plausibly suggested that this is responsible for the peculiar orientation of Solomon's temple on an axis not quite due east-west, but rather slightly northeast-southwest. The axis of this edifice varied five degrees from true east-west. Archaeologists have determined this orientation from the line of the east wall which today borders the temple area and which, there is reason to believe, runs along the line of the porches of Solomon's day. Within the sacred area is the rock which at present is beneath the Moslem mosque, the Dome of the Rock, but which once lay within the *sanctum sanctorum* of Solomon's edifice. When a line is drawn from the sacred rock to the summit of the Mount of Olives, it is found to be at right angles to the east wall of the sacred inclosure. Solomon's temple, oriented along this line, would have had its entrance facing directly toward the summit of the Mount of Olives. A reason for this singular orientation may be found if one assumes solar features in the Jerusalem cultus. The sun rises above the summit of the Mount of Olives at or about the time of the autumnal equinox, which, in the thinking of the ancients, marked the death of the year and the beginning of the retreat of the forces which make for life. At that time the rays of the sun would shine directly through the eastern gate of the temple area, across and over the altar of burnt offering which stood before the temple, and into the holy of holies in its interior. The dark recesses above the sacred rock where stood the ark, under the shadow of the wings of the cherubim, each of

which stood 15 feet in height, would be illuminated with the *kāvôdh*, or "glory," of the god who, under this manifestation, would now enter his temple.³⁴

The original significance of this return of the god of life into his temple when the sun reached the stage of its recession known as the autumnal equinox is possibly suggested in the Ras Shamra tablet designated by Virolleaud as Epic II.³⁵ This tablet deals with the building of a temple for Alein Baal, who up to the moment has possessed no such edifice. The building takes place just before the precipitation of the autumn rains; and its purpose seems to be to provide a place of retirement and defense for Alein Baal, whose right to such a shelter as is enjoyed by other gods is recognized by them to the great joy of Anat his mate. Alein Baal's occupation of his house is celebrated by appropriate festivities; and it is explicitly enjoined that "fire shall be in the sanctuary, flames in the temple," which shall "consume" throughout seven days. The text suggests that it is at this festival that the issue between Alein Baal and Mot, which later results in the latter's victory over the former, begins to be joined. Alein Baal, firmly enthroned in his sanctuary, believes himself dominant and confirmed in his rule. He refuses, consequently, to recognize Mot as he has the other deities. Most significant is the comment of the latter on the real meaning of Alein Baal's retirement to his temple:

³⁴ For the best recent discussion of the solar cult in the temple, in the light of its orientation, cf. F. J. Hollis, *The Archaeology of Herod's Temple* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1934), pp. 132 ff., and the essay by the same author in S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 87 ff. It would appear that the axis of the post-exilic temple was changed in protest against sun-worship.

³⁵ See *Syria*, XIII (1932), 113 ff.

The beloved hides in his garden [tomb]
I alone it is who rules over gods and men
To make fat gods and men.³⁶

The text, which unfortunately is broken just following this soliloquy of Mot's, goes on to suggest that Alein Baal carries on his fight with Mot with some show of success. The Lady Shepesh (the sun) co-operates with him, proving that the heavens are not under Mot's authority. Yet the text states that "the Light of the Gods, Shepesh, scorches." The sun, then, though arrayed on the side of light and life, contributes to that death of vegetation which marks the deepening night of autumn. The sanctuary does not render Alein Baal immune from the ravages of Mot. His very need of a refuge is a confession of his declining power. When "the beloved" ceases to be "rider of the clouds" and is enthroned in his temple, he is really "hiding in his garden [tomb]." With the precipitation, against his desire, of the autumn rains the sharp missiles of Mot find him, and he must relinquish his sovereignty to winter and death.

While it is too daring to affirm that Solomon's temple was oriented as it was with reference to the enactment of some such cycle of nature myths as was in use in the cultus at Ras Shamra, the well-attested place of solar features in the Jerusalem cultus makes such a possibility not unreasonable. It is worth remarking, at this point, that the prophets frequently employ an opprobrious term for Bethel, which, from the cultic standpoint, was to Israel what Jerusalem was to Judah. They call it Beth-On.³⁷ Now On was the ancient name of an Egyptian city, later

³⁶ Epic II, col. VII, ll. 47 ff.

³⁷ Vocalized as *Beth'Awēn* (Hos. 4:15; 5:8; 10:5); cf. Amos, 1:5 and 5:5.

known as Heliopolis, which was devoted to a rite of sun-worship. This suggests that the cultus, as practiced at most of the great religious centers, had solar features.

It is not justified to assume, as is frequently done, that the protestant elements in Hebrew society were opposed to sun-worship as a competitive, sectarian rival of Yahwism. It is much more probable that they were opposed to it as an integral part of a syncretistic Yahwism which had conserved it as part of a transmitted pattern of culture which was now disintegrating. Their aim was not the mere triumph of Yahwism but the transformation of it, and their motive was the correction of social abuses which were sanctioned by a cultus that was occupying itself with the preservation of an order which was daily becoming more and more unsuited to withstand the peculiar social pressures of the time. That this inadequacy of the system was, in time, felt also by those who were of it, and that these at last responded by adapting the system itself to the philosophy propagated by the prophets, may find illustration by a passage such as the following which is taken from a great body of Hebrew cultic literature:

Bless Yahweh, O my soul!
 Yahweh, my God, thou art very great;
 With glory and honor thou art robed;
 Who veilest thyself in light like a garment;

 Who maketh winds his messengers,
 His ministers, flames of fire!³⁸

As has been pointed out,³⁹ these lines are an adaptation of a passage from an Egyptian hymn to the sun god Aten.

³⁸ Ps. 104:1, 2a, 4.

³⁹ Cf. J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, pp. 281 ff.

They show that at some time, not now possible to determine, the solar monotheism of Ikhnaten had found expression in Palestine. The point to notice, however, is that whatever of its influence penetrated to that region had come through cultic circles. Yet, all the evidence concerning the state of the cultus in Palestine during the He-



FIG. 43.—Pottery chariot and driver from Gerar. (After W. M. F. Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XXXIX, No. 14.)

brew period does not permit one to believe that the distinctive underlying philosophy of Ikhnaten's solar monotheism exercised any effect on the social psychology of Palestine. The cultus could receive and conserve some transmitted impressions of Ikhnaten's movement. But without the arousing of the Hebrew conscience, which had to come from within Hebrew society itself, it could not utilize them influentially. Once conscience had fulfilled

its regenerative function, however, these echoes of an earlier monotheistic world-view came to life and use in a movement which had affinity with that from which they had risen but which was genuinely Hebrew.⁴⁰

In view of the consideration just advanced, it becomes possible that another line of evidence for the prevalence of solar elements in the popular cultus in Palestine during

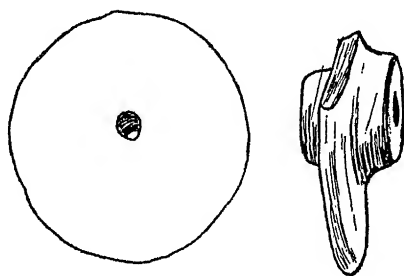


FIG. 44.—Model chariot wheels in pottery from Megiddo. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XXI, Nos. M908 and M3365.)

the Hebrew period is found in the numerous pottery models of horses and chariots found in the course of various excavations. These occur prior to the Hebrew⁴¹ period and are also plentiful in that age itself,⁴² so that whatever feature of the cultus they may reflect is not an innovation but a survival from earlier days. The pottery char-

⁴⁰ The reader will find many references to sun-worship in Canaan in the standard works on the religion of the Hebrews. It might be mentioned that sun-worship may have been native to Beth-Shemesh, since the name signifies "House of the Sun."

⁴¹ For examples datable to the time of Thutmose III, see *MJ*, XIX (1928), 157.

⁴² Cf. *ILN*, May 26, 1934, pp. 836 f., and *OIP*, XXVI, 23 ff., where an interpretation along the lines here suggested is offered.

iot with rider here illustrated was found at Gerar and probably dates from the Solomonic period (see Fig. 43). More often only the pottery wheels of the chariot are found (see Fig. 44). In view of the concern of the people of Palestine with the seasonal cycle it is possible that these objects also were part of the equipment of sympathetic magic by which the rank and file expressed this interest and sought to influence those powers of nature of their dependence upon which they were constantly conscious. If such was their use, they may well have been employed in the popular Yahwism of the day, the cultus of which was, as the biblical evidence suggests, so profoundly conformed to the cultus of the great neighboring cultures.

CHAPTER VIII

DISINTEGRATING CULTURE AND REGENERATIVE CONSCIENCE—*Continued*

The convincing prophetic picture of the polytheism which was so prevalent in Palestine during the Hebrew period reflects another aspect of the cultus which is confirmed by archaeological research. Jeremiah refers not only to the sun but to "the moon, and the hosts of the heavens" which the people have "loved, followed, consulted, and worshiped."¹ In the material remains of this period there is evidence to indicate the association of astral worship, especially with the mother-goddess. To the Hebrews she was also "the queen of heaven."² Her Babylonian counterpart, Ishtar, likewise had astral associations; and a star is commonly employed on the cylinder seals as her symbol. The star associated with her, as queen of heaven, is the one which later received the name of the Greek mother-goddess, Venus. The association of the star with the mother-goddess occurs in the plaque here illustrated, which was found at Tell es-Safi, in the Judean Shephelah (see Fig. 45). The five-pointed star, known as "the seal of Solomon," and the six-pointed star, known as "the shield of David," are symbols originating in astral features of the cultus.³ Incised on the side

¹ Jer. 8:2.

² Jer. 44:19.

³ See S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, pp. 213 ff.

of a building of ancient Megiddo, which has been identified as an Astarte temple, is a double-lined six-pointed star as here illustrated (see Fig. 46). This symbol is known as the seal of Judaism and is in use today on the Palestinian flag. But its origins lie back in that mother-goddess worship which was practiced in nearly every district of the ancient Near East.

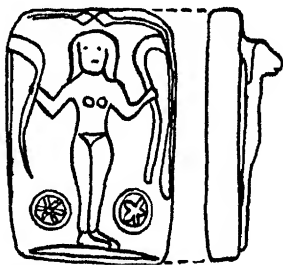


FIG. 45.—Mother-goddess plaque with astral symbols. (After Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, Pl. 67, No. 155.)

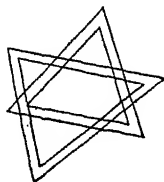


FIG. 46.—Astral design from the temple at Megiddo. (After *OIP*, XXVI, 7, Fig. 1.)

It must be remarked again, even at the risk of repetition, that this deep-seated naturalistic realism which manifested itself in the widely popular nature-worship features of the cultus of this age conditioned the character of that monotheistic philosophy of life which underlay the prophetic and protestant appeal to conscience. Because of this environing influence, Hebrew monotheism is marked by a consciousness of the immanence of God in nature which, significantly enough, is most effectively and beautifully expressed in that body of cultic literature known as

the Psalms.⁴ This ancient and widespread interest in the life-process helped to develop in the emerging monotheism an emphasis upon the creative and sustaining work of God in nature which went far toward controlling and sublimating the particularism which had its roots in nationalism and the struggle for political significance. A merely political Yahweh, whose function was to fight the battles of a nation, might have satisfied a Jehu; but he would not, as the prophets well knew, satisfy the people. Hence the particularism of the prophets is not political but ethical and cultural; for a deity who creates and sustains the universe must be capable of being the God of all men. Nature-worship had much to do with imparting to Hebrew religion that potential catholicism which made it possible for it to become the mother of two such rugged faiths as Christianity and Judaism, either of which might, if its devotees should be true to it, become the faith of the world. The germ of universalism lay in nature-worship. But it could not come to fruition until conscience had been roused to contribute the impulse that was to make that faith socially realistic, as well as naturalistically so. Man's own destiny must be fully brought within the purview and sway of the dependable and beneficent forces which he could now discern to be at work in his natural environment. He must be brought to see life as a process of co-operation with the whole rather than of competition with or coercion of the part.

⁴ One should, perhaps, include in this statement the so-called "Yahweh Speeches" in Job, chaps. 38-41, which, however, reflect the spirit of the same transformed and regenerated cultus which was responsible for the greater monotheistic psalms.

The naturalistic realism which Hebrew religion inherited from the culture pattern of the environing world gives that faith much more affinity with the religious temper of the present times than it had with that of a century ago. The natural sciences, particularly astronomy, physics, and chemistry, are reviving in many moderns a reaction to the physical universe which is closely akin to that sense of dependence upon and inclusion within it which was stimulated in the ancients by the highly developed Mother Earth cultus. They are giving concreteness to the abstractions of the theologian and the philosopher. The word "God" can mean much more to a student of these sciences than to one who derives its connotation only from definitions. Both the immanence and the transcendence of deity can be much more readily grasped today with the aid of science than was possible a century or two ago with the aid of intellectualism. Hebrew philosophy, even in its highest or prophetic manifestation, was never intellectualistic. Its genius glows in the naturalism which pervades it. Consequently, its idealism really depends upon pragmatic sanctions, and its vision of the age of gold contemplates the here more than the hereafter; its world-view is arrived at through a species of attentiveness which has more affinity with physics than with metaphysics; and its cultus technique puts the emphasis on social, rather than on personal, ends.

The continuity of the cultic life of Palestine in the Hebrew period with that of preceding ages, and the persistence of the tendency to conform to the culture of the environing world, are illustrated in the two undoubtedly

cultic objects which are here reproduced (see Figs. 47 and 48). They may be provisionally described as incense altars or stands, and possess certain features in common to which attention should be drawn. Both are, in different



FIG. 47.—Pottery incense altar from Taanach. (After E. Sellin, *Tell Taanek*, Pl. XII.)

degree, modeled after a building some of the architectural details of which they clearly suggest. Each, for example, is decorated with a single proto-Ionic volute in the upper corners of what is obviously a façade.⁵ In both examples windows or doors are cut in the façade and in the sides. On the outer edges of each façade are what may, both from the Old Testament text and comparative archaeology,

be determined to be cherubim.⁶ They are represented in relief; and in each case their bodies, whether in entirety or in part, are outlined on the adjacent sides of the object. The cultic use of the Taanach stand has recently been maintained in a most convincing study.⁷

Certain differences between these two objects are

⁵ One of the volutes is missing from the Taanach altar.

⁶ See I Kings 6:29 and the following discussion.

⁷ M. Löds, "Autel ou Réchaud? A propos du 'brûle-parfums' de Taanek," *RHR*, CIX (1934), 129 ff.

worth noting. The cherubim on the Taanach altar are more numerous. They alternate with lions, of which there are none on the Megiddo altar. The latter, on the other hand, has a female cherub on each end of the façade, while a male cherub is placed near the center of each side.

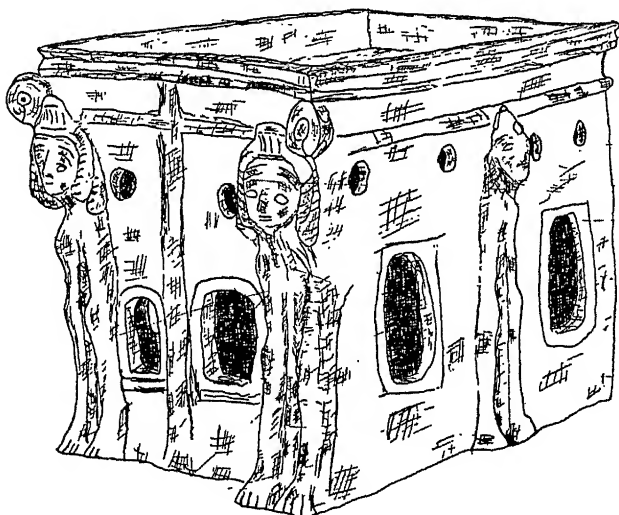


FIG. 48.—Pottery model shrine from Megiddo. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XIII.)

The small oval holes in the upper part of the Megiddo altar seem to be in imitation of the apertures for the doves of the mother-goddess.⁸ This Megiddo altar, with squared apertures suggestive of doors or windows, is much more obviously a representation of a building than the Taanach altar. It was, indeed, associated by its discoverer with the Astarte temple, on the walls of which was incised the six-pointed star or "seal of David," to

⁸ Cf. *OIP*, XXVI, 15.

which reference has been made. On one side of the Taanach altar there is a relief of a human figure grasping a snake, a motif which will presently be discussed.⁹ There is also on the front of the altar a tree flanked on either side by a goat. On the whole, then, the Taanach altar preserves a greater variety of the symbols earlier in use in nature-worship both in Palestine and elsewhere.

Certain features of these objects merit some further and special consideration. Among these are the cherubim. The archaeology of the Near East, from which region the cherub concept was carried to the Western world, has completely dispelled, in informed circles, the still widely current conception of the cherub as a chubby and winged infant. The cherub is by no means a distinctively Hebrew conception, but one which, with local variations, was current in widely separated parts of the Near East, where it appears long before there is any record of such a conception in Palestine itself. A being known by this same term occurs in the mythological records of Mesopotamia at an early age. There the term is applied to winged, animal-bodied, human-headed colossi, or giant images. The Assyrian cherub (*karibu*) was ranked as a deity whose special function was that of intercession. Statues of this deity placed at the entrance to sanctuaries were to represent lesser deities who interceded with the greater deity, whose seat was inside the building, on behalf of the worshipers who filed through its portals. Another conception associated with them was that of standing guard. The colossal, bull-bodied, human-faced winged creatures which were placed at the entrances to the royal Assyrian palaces are probably to be regarded as cherubs (see Fig.

⁹ See below, p. 273.

49). The king, whose seat was in the palace, was himself accepted as being a manifestation of a major deity. These colossi symbolized supernatural beings whose functions may have included both the guarding of him and the interceding with him. From Assyrian inscriptions one learns that the cherub was conceived both as male and as female.

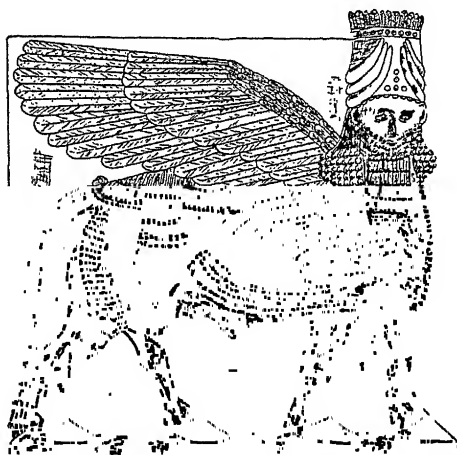


FIG. 49.—Assyrian winged-bull colossus. (After *Oriental Institute Handbook*, 3d ed., Fig. 39.)

The winged sphinx which was lion-bodied and human-headed represents a similar conception as current in the Nile Valley. The bird-faced, animal-bodied, winged creature known as a "griffin" may also have to be included in the cherub category; and the anciently held idea of the identity in origin of the words "cherub" and "griffin" may have to be reconsidered.¹⁰

From the references to cherubim in the text of the Old

¹⁰ Cf. W. E. Staples, "An Inscribed Scaraboid from Megiddo" in *OIC*, No. 9, pp. 49 ff.

Testament itself, the details of the Hebrew conception cannot be determined. That they were represented by colossal statues is clear from I Kings 6:23 ff., where the height of the free-standing cherubim in the holy of holies of Solomon's temple is given as 15 feet. The fact is also mentioned that they were used as a decorative motif on cloth and on the walls of the temple.

The only identification of these which may yet be made is in the form of the winged sphinx. Examples of the decorative use of this type of the cherub conception have been pointed out in the discussion of the ivory inlays from Samaria.¹¹ The cherubim on the incense altars from Taanach and Megiddo are also winged sphinxes. Since this is the type of cherub most commonly found in Egypt, one might conclude that all these objects reflect Egyptian influence. But it is by no means certain that the winged sphinx originated in Egypt, and there are certain features of the decorations of these altars which suggest affinities with the north and lead one to wonder whether the winged sphinx may not have come to Egypt from that direction.

The cherubim on these incense altars are composite figures. They have lion bodies and human heads. The wings show clearly on the cherubs on the Taanach altar. The altar from Megiddo was too poorly preserved to show much of the detail of the bodies as they may have been outlined on the sides. The form of this temple-shaped object, with its angular corners, may not have permitted a complete outline of the body which would show the wings.

¹¹ See above, pp. 195 ff. and Fig. 36.

On the other hand, the divinity of the cherubim on the Megiddo altar is clearly indicated, showing that the cherub was here thought of as having such rank, just as was the case in Assyria. The headdress of the female cherubim on the façade of this altar is a typical mother-goddess headdress, which suggests that they may have been regarded as manifestations of that deity. The male cherubim on the sides wear a headdress that is suggestive of that of Osiris. It may be an attempt to imitate his headdress with its rounded top flanked by *maat* feathers. On the other hand, the purpose may be to suggest the conventionalized headdress sometimes worn by Syrian deities such as Resheph. The lion bodies of the female cherubim and the lions on the Taanach altar also remind one of possible Syro-Hittite connections, for the mother-goddess as represented in those regions is associated with the lion, as is seen, for example, in a representation of her from Kadesh, in which she is disclosed as standing on a lion.¹² It is, then, possible that the cherubim on the Taanach altar symbolize the god, while the lions are manifestations of the mother-goddess. In any case, the deity of these cherubim, in the thought of Palestinians, seems to be clearly indicated by the Megiddo altar; and the point needs to be made that one cannot draw any definite inference concerning the geographical origin of the influence they reflect until more is known about the history of fertility-worship in previous ages.

¹² Cf. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Vol. I, Pl. 41; H. Gressman, *Orientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, Pls. CXIV-CXII; cf. also the Yazili Kaya reliefs of Asia Minor, K. Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya* ("Istanbuler Forschungen," Vol. V [Bamberg, 1934]).

The male cherubim on the Megiddo shrine have, in the center of the forehead, a disk which is, perhaps, part of the headdress. The deity manifested in them, then, has the attributes of the sun god. Considering this, one recalls at once I Chron. 28:18, which refers to the chariots of the cherubim that spread their wings over the ark. This reference to chariots in connection with these Old Testament cherubim may make permissible the inference that the latter were also conceived as manifestations of a deity with solar attributes. One is also reminded that Ezekiel's "living creatures," which are clearly described as well as designated as cherubim,¹³ had wheels, among which was fire, associated with them.¹⁴ There can be little doubt that these creatures were conceived as having solar attributes. When one considers the age and wide distribution of this symbolism and recalls that Ezekiel was a priest of the temple in Jerusalem, there is no need to assume contemporaneous Babylonian influence in order to account for the strange symbolical style in which he describes his vision of God. It would be both natural and imperative to use these symbols, because he and his audience were habituated to them both by tradition and environment.

In Ps. 18:11 Yahweh is pictured as coursing through the sky on a cherub, speeding "on the wings of the wind"; but the underlying conception of him is that of the war god, and the natural phenomena associated with this aspect of his personality are those of storm and tempest. But the fact that the cherub symbol finds its place in representations of two such widely different aspects of the

¹³ Ezek. 1:5; cf. 10:1.

¹⁴ Ezek. 1:15 ff.; 10:6 ff.

divine personality as those which inspire his productive and his protective or punitive activities is in itself worth noting. As a storm god, Yahweh is as much a nature deity as he is when viewed as a god of agriculture. In no age, and in no habitable region could deity have been conceived by all men exclusively in terms of either of these aspects of his personality. The theory which relates these elements of the god conception directly to certain successive periods of a people's experience marked by peculiar economic, political, and social conditions which inspire them is too artificial and deterministic. A storm god of battles could not suffice a nomadic people any more than a mere vegetation deity could long be adequate for an agricultural people. War is not peculiar to nomadism nor is production peculiar to a settled way of life. The evolution of the god idea has been overdone. The popular conception does not vary much from age to age or from place to place; and the only significant variation, in any age or place, comes when the social inadequacy of the dominant god concept stimulates a new drive for value, reawakens the dormant divinity with which all human creatures are dowered by the will of their Creator.

It has already been remarked that in the Tigris-Euphrates region the cherubs were conceived as having an intercessory function and as being charged with the task of guarding the sacred seat of divine manifestations. The latter function is attributed to these beings in Gen. 3:24, where the cherubim block man's entrance to paradise with whirling swords of flame. Reference has already been made¹⁵ to a passage in the book of Ezekiel where

¹⁵ See above, p. 52. Cf. Ezek. 28:14, 16.

cherubim are on guard before Eden, which is conceived as a sanctuary. The cherubim on the incense altars from Taanach and Megiddo were probably thought of in much the same way. But what these guardian and mediative deities actually reflect is a growing sense of the transcendent holiness of deity. The conception of the cherubim both as intercessors and as guardians bespeaks this. The major or supreme deity cannot be so directly approached by man. There is an established order through which approach must be made to the higher power which is aloof and mysterious. It is true that this transcendentalizing of deity synchronizes with the setting-up in human societies of centralized and authoritarian forms of social organization. But it is not at all necessary to assume, as many do, that transcendentalism in the god conception is merely the fruit of these social developments. On the contrary, it is a genuine fruit of human experience with the cosmos as a whole. It rises as much from that attentiveness to the natural order which had long been inculcated through nature-worship as it does from social exigency. It is as reasonable, for instance, to believe that a growing appreciation of the scope and majesty and mysteriousness of the forces which operate in nature led to a vision of royalistic and imperialistic societies as that the setting-up of the latter led to the transcendentalizing of the god conception. The religious sociologists have failed to take adequately into account the influence of nature-worship in the shaping of the world-view and in the ordering of society. They have made the god conception grow too much out of the social process instead of out of the cosmic process whence it originally came.

The prophets of Israel, for all their social passion, avoided this error. This naturalistic transcendentalism which they found ready to hand in the culture pattern of their times was capable of being used as an instrument of social exploitation, and was being so used by the personnel of the ruling caste. But the prophets did not abandon theism, nor were they content to place behind their social ideals nothing more than the authority of social experience. They insisted that cosmic authority underlay their demands for social harmony, and looked upon social experience as part of a cosmic revelation. Until this point of view is revived, there is little to hope for from the merely manipulative activities of the social scientist. Human self-sufficiency will pervert them all to selfish and socially disruptive uses.

The cherubim as they occur on these incense altars are, then, visible symbols of invisible deities who have their seat in the holy place they guard. They are the *kāvōd* ("glory") or instrument of the manifestation of these deities. The use of cherubim within the holy of holies of Solomon's temple reflects the same thought of an invisible power or powers which had their seat at that particular place. Yahweh's presence is symbolized by them. Hence he is referred to in several passages as *yōshēv hak-k'rwīm*.¹⁶ This expression is often translated as "enthroned on the cherubim," or "he who sits on the cherubim." But the Hebrew expression lacks the preposition "on," the use of which makes the rendering much more anthropomorphic than was probably intended by those who coined it. The Hebrew might be literally rendered as "the cherubim

¹⁶ I Sam. 4:4; II Sam. 6:2; I Chron. 13:6.

sitter," that is to say, the one who has his seat of authority where the cherubim are, or, in other words, in the holy of holies of Solomon's temple. This illustrates the point made above that the cherubim constitute the *kāvōd* or instrument and place of theophany; and, as has already been pointed out,¹⁷ the ark over which the cherubim spread their wings is actually called the *kāvōd* of Yahweh.¹⁸ In view of what has been here adduced concerning the cherubim, and in view, moreover, of what can now be discerned concerning the nature of the cultic life of Palestine in this age, it is quite possible that the two cherubim in the holy of holies of Solomon's temple may have been of the two genders. The contemplation of such a possibility causes one to wonder what attitude the reforming King Josiah, who may have been the first to promulgate a law prohibiting the use of images to symbolize deity, was moved to take to the cherubim in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple. Later on, there will be occasion to consider two questions which may have bearing on this point. They are these: Why is there no mention of cherubim in the law book which inspired Josiah's reform, that is to say, the original core of the book of Deuteronomy? And, why was the ark never used in sacred procession after his time? Consideration of these matters may furnish an excellent illustration of the truth of the assertion previously made that the great achievement of the prophets was the transformation wrought through their preaching in the

¹⁷ See p. 48.

¹⁸ A slightly different rendering of the expression *yōshēv hak-k'ruvim* as "the cherubim dweller" is plausible and may be a case of metonymy, signifying "the inhabitant of the ark."

cultus with which many of them individually broke. The valuable feature of the god conception which was given visual expression by these cherubim statues, namely, the idea of transcendence, was not discarded but was purified, simplified, and made socially more beneficent through the effect of their influence on certain elements of the cultus personnel which sponsored this reform.¹⁹

Another feature of these incense altars which deserves some comment is the voluted projections in the upper corners of the façades. These are clearly conventionalized representations of the early type of capital which is now known as proto-Ionic. In connection with the building with which the Megiddo incense altar was associated by its discoverer five of these actual proto-Ionic capitals, as here illustrated, were found (see Fig. 50A). In view of the fact that the Megiddo altar is a model of a temple and dates from Solomon's time, it is highly probable that capitals of this type were a feature of the architectural detail of sacred buildings during this age. A still earlier capital, dating possibly from the Davidic period, was also found at Megiddo (see Fig. 50B).²⁰ Other specimens believed by the discoverer to be early ninth century and to have belonged to the "house of ivory" have been unearthed at Samaria.²¹ A similar early capital has also been

¹⁹ For an interesting discussion of the cherubim, see P. Dhorme and L. H. Vincent, "Les cherubims," *RB*, XXXV (1926), 328 ff. and 481 ff.; see also R. H. Pfeiffer, "Cherubim," *JBL*, XLI (1922), 249 f.

²⁰ See *ILN*, May 26, 1934, p. 836, Fig. 1. The earliest proto-Ionic capital yet found in Palestine has just been discovered at Megiddo (*Staff Bulletin of the Oriental Institute*, April 8, 1936).

²¹ See J. W. Crowfoot, *PEFQS*, LXVII (1935), 188, and *JDAI*, Vol. XLVIII, Figs. 6-7.

found in Moab.²² These capitals, which are all pilaster capitals, since they are decorated on one side only, are earlier than any of the Grecian and Cypriote examples of this type. It is now suggested that hints concerning their

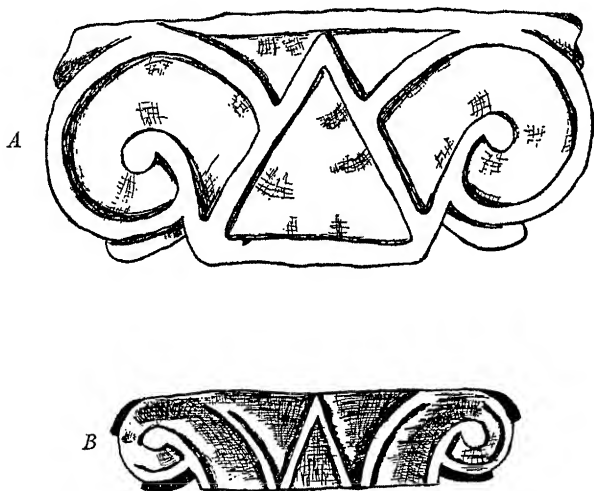


FIG. 50.—Proto-Ionic pilaster capitals from Megiddo. (A, After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XII, No. M2983; B, *ibid.*, Pl. XI.)

origin must be sought in the direction of north Syria or even Assyria.²³

The Megiddo altar, which is more obviously modeled

²² See N. Glueck, "Further Explorations in Eastern Palestine," *BASOR*, No. 51 (1933), pp. 9 ff., Fig. 1.

²³ Cf. R. M. Engberg in *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 4 ff. Gordon Loud reports from the excavations in Iraq at Khorsabad, ancient Dur Sharrukin, capital of Sargon II of Assyria (721-705 B.C.), a stone column base from a "nobleman's house." The decoration in relief on this column base is an adaptation of the proto-Ionic design. See G. Loud, "The Seven-Gated City of Sargon and Sennacherib," *ILN*, September 28, 1935, pp. 506 ff. and Fig. 4, p. 505. See also B. Rowland, Jr., "Notes on Ionic Architecture in the Near East," *AJA*, XXXIX (1935), 489 ff.

after a temple building than the Taanach altar, gives one a clear conception of the nature of sacred edifices in Palestine during the Hebrew period. Like the Nasbeh temples,²⁴ these all have the simple rectangular floor plan which it illustrates. There is also a possibility that from this model temple altar stand one may derive some idea of what the sacred object known in the Old Testament as the ark (*ʾăron*) looked like.²⁵

Although a casual reading of the Old Testament leaves one with a somewhat confused impression that the Hebrew ark was a unique instrument, there can now be little doubt that this is not the case. Even the biblical record itself suggests the possibility of the existence of more than one such object. An ark is in the field with the forces of Saul at Gibeah,²⁶ while the object described as "the ark of the covenant of *Yahweh Š'vâ-ôth*," which had originally rested in the sanctuary at Shiloh, was still at Kirjath-Jearim.²⁷ As the conclusion of an elaborate textual study on this question the late Professor W. R. Arnold, who maintained that wherever the word "*ʾēphôdh*" stands in the Old Testament text for an object in three dimensions it is a textually easy substitution for an original *ʾăron* (ark), ventured the following statement:

The historical ark of Yahweh was not a unique but a manifold object, attaching to every Palestinian sanctuary that possessed a consecrated priesthood; and the theory of a single ark, correspond-

²⁴ See above, pp. 166 ff.

²⁵ Several other model shrines were found at Megiddo in association with the same building. One of these also had cherubim decorations on the façade. See *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XV.

²⁶ I Sam. 14:18, following Arnold and reading "ark" for the "ephod" of the text.

²⁷ I Sam. 7:1 f.

ing to that of a single legitimate sanctuary, is the last surviving Deuteronomistic conceit in the theological science of the present day.²⁸

While this statement may be in detail too sweeping, the passing years, with their accumulation of archaeological data, tend to support the general soundness of Arnold's thesis.

The association of the ark with the prevalent cultic pattern, which the sponsors of the Deuteronomic Reform sought to purge of its grosser ideas and practices, would solve many questions. For example, it is reliably indicated in II Chron. 35:3 that the use of the ark in the Jerusalem cultus was restricted after Josiah's time by the prohibition of its employment in religious processions. Why was this done? Does it not seem reasonable to conclude that certain features of the processional rite in which it was customarily employed were objectionable to the reformers? For the same reason, as is implied in this passage, the reformers chose to regard the ark deposited at Jerusalem as the only "holy" ark. Arks employed at other sanctuaries were, by their centralizing legislation, automatically abolished. The Deuteronomic attitude to the ark, when so interpreted, provides another example of the regenerative work of conscience on the accepted culture pattern. This view of the relationship of the ark to the accepted cultus, which, thanks to the prophetic protest came to be looked upon as pagan and even foreign, explains also the aversion to this sacred instrument which is expressed in Jer. 3:16, a passage which is of approximately contemporaneous origin.

²⁸ W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917).

What little may be learned of the form of the ark which was associated with the Jerusalem temple supports a hypothesis, which has long been advanced but never followed to its logical conclusion, to the effect that the sacred ark took the form of a miniature sanctuary or temple. There is no sufficient evidence for the view, which has been several times mooted, that the ark disappeared from the temple prior to Deuteronomic times. The allusions in I Kings 6:23 ff. and 8:6 ff. to its having been placed in the holy of holies under the shadow of the outspread wings of two colossal cherub statues probably reflect an authentic historical fact. The expression *yōshēv hak-kerūvīm*, used as a qualification of the deity of the ark which finally found its way to Solomon's temple,²⁹ far from being, as Arnold conjectured, "a supralinear lectional rubric," was probably coined to make it clear that the reference was to the ark of the Yahweh whose seat was where the colossal cherubim were to be found, in contradistinction to other Yahwehs whose seats were in other shrines. The whole tenor of this strand of the narrative in the books of Samuel betrays the writer's desire to impress upon the reader that this ark is the abiding-place of the real Yahweh. This is expressed in the incident where the Philistines identify the coming of this ark with the arrival of Yahweh in the Hebrew camp,³⁰ and in that wherein David regards his dancing before the ark as dancing before Yahweh.³¹ The same thought is clearly implied in the relation of the sojourn of the ark in Philistine territory and its subsequent adventures up to the time of its ultimate arrival in Jeru-

²⁹ See the reference to this phrase on p. 258 and cf. I Sam. 4:3 f.; II Sam. 6:2; I Chron. 13:6.

³⁰ I Sam. 4:5.

³¹ II Sam. 6:21.

saalem.³² The emphasis placed upon the localization of Yahweh at the place where this ark reposes gives these narratives something of the centralizing flavor which characterizes the Deuteronomic outlook. But this is the offspring of an earlier and more naïve stage of nationalism than that which colored the Deuteronomic psychology. The attitude to the ark itself has much more affinity with that current in conventional cultic circles in pre-Deuteronomic times throughout Palestine than with the attitude displayed to it by those responsible for the Book of Deuteronomy. The latter, reflecting the influence of the prophetic appeal to intelligence and conscience, chose to regard the ark as the repository of the Ten Commandments, written by Yahweh on Sinai.³³ They were also moved to provide that the larger legal corpus inscribed by Moses be placed beside the ark as a witness against the Levites and their perverted rite.³⁴ It is, in this connection, interesting to remark that in the post-exilic priestly practice the idea of the real presence of the deity at the ark is revived.³⁵ The prophetic protest which was given a measure of social expression in the cultic reforms of Josiah's times did not suffice to abolish this concept, which the priests rightly deemed to have great cultic value. It did, however, modify the underlying idea of God and ethicize the social use of the concept of the real presence.

In the light of certain recently discovered evidence there is much reason to believe that the holy of holies of the post-exilic temple was also furnished with an ark. Because of the by then well-developed prejudice against

³² I Sam. 5:1—7:2; II Sam. 6:1 ff.

³⁴ Deut. 31:24 ff.

³³ Deut. 10:1 ff.

³⁵ Exod. 25:10 ff.

the use of images of deity, this temple was without the colossal cherubim such as had stood in the inner room of Solomon's edifice. But the description of the ark in the priestly source still associates cherubim with it.³⁶ These now do not tower over it but perch upon its cover. They have become, in other words, a decorative motif on the ark itself, just as is the case in the incense altars from Taanach and Megiddo.³⁷

That this is not a mere "P" conceit or adaptation of the record of the association of colossal cherubim with the pre-exilic ark, but that there actually was such an instrument in the post-exilic temple, is suggested by the fact that, long after the Pharisees had carried to a successful conclusion the fight begun by the Deuteronomists against the misuse of this conception of the real presence of deity in the holy of holies, portable arks, which in some instances took the form of model buildings, continued to be in use in the synagogues of Palestine and Greece as repositories of the divine Torah, in whose regulations deity now presented himself to his worshippers.³⁸ Considering the evidence on this point, Cook has been led to remark: "We may ask whether they [the Jews] really ceased to have any sacred ark of their own after the fall of Jeru-

³⁶ Exod. 25:18 ff.

³⁷ The pre-exilic ark, in the form of a model temple, was probably, like the temple itself, decorated with cherubim in relief.

³⁸ E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, Schweich Lectures, 1930 (London, 1934), especially p. 53; "Designs of the Torah Shrine in Ancient Synagogues in Palestine," *PEFQS*, LXIII (1931), 22 ff.; J. M. Casanowicz, "Ark of the Law," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 107 ff.; Kohl and Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* (Leipzig, 1916); Orfali, *Capharnaum et ses ruines . . .* (Paris: A. Picard, 1922); *MDOG*, XXIX (1905), 14 ff.

saalem and the exile in the sixth century B.C."³⁹ The temptation to return a negative answer to this query increases when one recalls the fact that the ark, as a model shrine used to house the blessed sacrament, has found its way also into the Christian cultus.⁴⁰

In the light of these considerations it seems highly possible that the arks in use in cultic centers in Palestine during the Hebrew period took the form of model sanctuaries, the functions of which, as symbols of the real presence of the deity, were many. Being substitutes for the actual temple, they could be moved from place to place, so that the deity, whose dwelling-place was in the sanctuary, might make procession, whether in the interests of peace or war. Thus, even within the deity's actual temple, the place where the ark stood was the supremely holy spot. If this be the case, then, it is possible to derive from the Megiddo incense altar a visual conception of the approximate appearance of such an ark. It is, of course, not claimed that this pottery incense altar is itself an ark. The material of which it is fabricated would not be durable enough for the functions discharged by that object. As is well known, the ark in Solomon's temple was made of wood, a fact which explains why no such objects have survived under the climatic conditions prevailing in Palestine. In the event that the future should substantiate this suggestion about the form of the ark, the latter would constitute one more in a growing list of cultic objects, to which reference is made in the Old Testa-

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 214 ff.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. Braun, "Tabernacle," *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1912), XIV, 424.

ment, that confirm the claim here advanced that the Hebrews derived the cultic elements of their culture from the environing world and that their claim to distinction lies in the fact that, by making the cultus the vehicle of a higher philosophy of life, they saved much of it from degradation.⁴¹

Another item in this list of cultic objects mentioned in the Old Testament and also in use in the generally accepted cultus of the nature-worship type is the horned altar. This was an important object in the furnishing of shrines regarded in the Old Testament as sacred to Yahweh, and the horns were regarded as of special significance. The smearing of sacrificial blood on the horns of the altar was a regular ritual practice at least in post-exilic times,⁴² and accumulating evidence makes it more than likely that there was pre-exilic precedent for most of the post-exilic priestly practices. The practice which was normally in force in Davidic times of granting immunity to fugitives who fled to the sanctuary and grasped the horns⁴³ of the altar also illustrates the peculiar significance of these appendages. The refusal on the part of Solomon to grant such immunity to Joab⁴⁴ really emphasizes their significance, because both parties recognized the flight to the altar and the grasping of its horns as an appeal to deity to judge between them. One has heard of

⁴¹ A more detailed study of the problem of the ark by Dr. May, under the title "The Ark as a Miniature Temple," will appear soon in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. The reader is more especially referred to a brilliant study by Professor Martin Sprengling, in his presidential address before the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society, Chicago, March 27, 1936, entitled "The Arab, the Ark, and the Tent."

⁴² Lev. 4:7, 18.

⁴³ I Kings 1:50.

⁴⁴ I Kings 2:28.

critics who have regarded Amos' threat that the divine punishment of Israel's offenses would be signalized by the cutting off of the horns of the altar of Bethel⁴⁵ as being anticlimatic. It is easy to understand why this might seem to be the case to a "literary" critic. But no critic approaching this literature, as it ought to be approached, through a study of the culture out of which it rose could entertain such an arbitrary judgment. Amos was not thinking of mere physical damage to an altar. He was thinking rather of what such a defacement of a national altar would symbolize concerning the nature of the nation's fate. The special mention given to the horns in the directions for the construction of altars, both those for sacrifice of burnt offerings and those for incense offerings, in Exodus, chapters 30, 31, and 37, would preclude one from thinking their significance to be no more than incidental.

Up to the present, no horned altars antedating the Early Iron Age have been found in Palestine. Those which have been found are incense altars. It should be recalled that the burning of incense was a real sacrifice and not a mere device for inducing an aesthetic experience.⁴⁶ The altars on which it was offered were of the same form as those from which the smoke of the burnt offering ascended. The incense altar was made, in one piece, of limestone. Some have a ledge around the outside near the top. The horns consist of projections at each corner. The fact that these projections are designated as horns argues for the

⁴⁵ Amos 3:14; cf. also Jer. 17:11.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. H. Godbey, "Incense and Poison Ordeals in the Ancient Orient," *AJSL*, XLVI (1930), 217 ff.

cultic significance of the term, for the projections themselves are not so shaped as to suggest it. They are probably conventionalized representations of actual horns which were at one time placed at the corners of the altar. There is therefore much to be said for the suggestion of S. A. Cook that their origin goes back to some form of the bull cult, the significance of the horn in which has already been discussed.⁴⁷ Five of these horned incense altars were found at Megiddo, as well as one which was without horns (see Fig. 51). Others have been found at Gezer, Shechem, and Kirjath-Sepher (Tell Beit Mirsim).⁴⁸ Three of the horned incense altars found at Megiddo were associated by their discoverer with the



FIG. 51.—Horned altar in limestone from Megiddo. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XII, No. M2983.)

building he identified as an Astarte temple.⁴⁹ This lends support to Cook's theory that the key to the symbolism of the horns lies in the bull cult. They symbolized procre-

⁴⁷ See above, pp. 161 ff.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of these altars with complete bibliography, cf. *OIP*, XXVI, 12 ff. and Pl. XII. See also R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 404, Fig. 527; W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, IX, 52; E. Sellin, *ZDPV*, Vol. XLIX (1926), Pl. 31. For the later Hellenistic and Roman types of these altars see Gressman, *op. cit.*, Pls. CLXXXIV and CLXXXV.

⁴⁹ See the discussion in *OIC*, No. 4, pp. 70 ff. and Figs. 47, 48.

ative strength and productivity in general. When, therefore, Amos makes Yahweh say:

"Hear and testify against the house of Jacob"

(an oracle of the Lord God, the God of hosts)

"That on the day when I punish Israel for its offenses

I will inflict punishment on the altars of Bethel

And the horns of the altar shall be cut off and shall

fall to the ground,"

the prophet's point is simply that the inadequacy of the Bethel cultus to insure the material welfare of Israel will be proved by the logic of events when all that Israel has built up by devotion to material productivity, including the "winter house" and "summer house" and "ivory house" which symbolize an evanescent prosperity that has no firm social basis, shall come to nothing before forces which cannot be coped with through physical strength alone.⁵⁰ There can hardly be any doubt that Yahweh was worshiped in the polytheistic rite which prevailed at Bethel or that it was the rite, as such, which aroused the ire of the Judean prophet who so clearly saw the relation of the social attitudes it inculcated to the social maladjustments which cried out on every hand for corrective criticism. It is true that the Old Testament priestly incense altar is said to have been made of wood plated with gold. But its form and proportions are approximately the same as that of the altar from Megiddo here illustrated, and the most reasonable view of its ancestry is that it represents a survival of an altar which originated in a milieu similar to that from whence the Megiddo altar came.

⁵⁰ Cf. Amos 3:14 f.

Another type of limestone altar found in Palestine in the Hebrew period is the small "votive" altar found especially at Gezer and Gerar. These altars, as the latest evidence from Gerar indicates, begin to appear just prior to 700 B.C. and continue in use until possibly after 500 B.C. Macalister had previously placed them in the Hellenistic period.⁵¹ The designs scratched on these altars are very significant as illustrating, perhaps, the stage of degradation to which the transmitted fertility cult pattern had attained in regions less affected by the great regenerative process which was by this time beginning to operate influentially in the Hebrew areas proper. The designs include figures described as "executing a wild dance," palm trees with birds above them, a beast with a bird's head, and two palm trees with what may be a solar disk and another uncertain object between them.⁵² The tenacity of the nature-worship symbolism is illustrated in all these altars, and more especially in one which displays a motif to which the Old Testament, as has been previously suggested,⁵³ is no stranger (see Fig. 52). The design displayed on this altar is that of a ferocious beast with two small horns, and protruding teeth and tongue. It is in combat with a human figure which seems to be stabbing the beast in the neck. In the field at the rear of the beast is a star, and another appears on the shoulder of the beast.

⁵¹ See Sir W. M. F. Petrie, *Gerar*, pp. 18 ff., Pls. XL-XLII; and cf. Macalister, *op. cit.*, II, 442 ff. Mesopotamian analogies to these altars belong to the period of Assyrian domination. For illustrations see L. Legrain, *Terra Cottas from Nippur* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), Pls. LXVI ff.

⁵² There are others of these votive altars which have geometric designs.

⁵³ See above, pp. 134 ff.

This represents the common cosmological myth of the struggle of the god with the dragon of chaos—a myth to which allusion is made in prophetic writings of the age when this very altar was in use—a myth which, thanks to the prophetic influence on the Hebrew world-view, survives in transformed form in the creation story of Genesis, chapter 1, where God reduces the primeval chaos to cosmic harmony that the world may become the theater of the drama of life. The two stars are less easy to interpret. That which is in the field is, without much doubt, a symbol of the appearance there of Mother Earth. It is frequently found on cylinder seals in scenes representing the struggle of Bel and the Dragon.⁵⁴ The star on the shoulder of the beast has parallels both in Palestine and elsewhere, for example, lions with a star on the shoulder, in mythological scenes.⁵⁵ It is not possible at present to do more, in explanation of this star, than to accept the view of S. A. Cook,⁵⁶ who interprets it broadly as an astral symbol.



FIG. 52.—Votive altar from Gezer. (After R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 442, Fig. 524, 2b.)

⁵⁴ Cf. W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, pp. 197 ff., and Figs. 565, 574, 576, 579, 580, etc.; see also a note by H. G. May in R. S. Lamon, *The Megiddo Water System*, OIP, Vol. XXXII, Pl. VIII, No. 6.

⁵⁵ For similar stars on lions depicted on a gold bowl from Ras Shamra, see *Syria*, Vol. XV (1934), Pl. XV.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

The same motif of the conflict between chaos and order is expressed also on the Taanach incense altar which has been discussed above (see Fig. 53). On one side of this altar appears a human figure holding a serpent at arm's length by the neck in an attitude which may be somewhat suggestive of struggle. The dragon of chaos, as has been mentioned, is frequently represented as a serpent. This design, then, may possibly be given the same interpretation as that just described from Gezer. It has been suggested that the human figure is that of an infant or a youth.⁵⁷ But the crudity of the outlining of all the figures on this object makes judgment on this point uncertain.

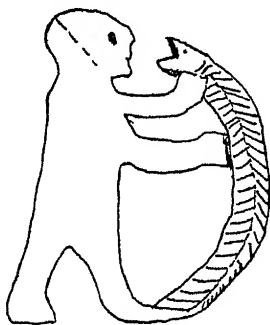


FIG. 53.—Detail on Taanach incense altar: god and snake in combat(?). (After E. Sellin, *Tell Taanek*, Fig. 104.)

The two types of incense altar already mentioned—the horned altar and the model shrine altar—do not exhaust the cultic objects which have to do with the incense sacrifice. Among other instruments employed in this feature of the rite, mention may be made specially of one, the *kaf* censer, to which reference is made in the Old Testament⁵⁸ and of which examples have been found by excavators (see Fig. 54). The Hebrew word *kaf* means the palm of the hand or the sole of the foot. Excavators have identified as *kaf* censers certain objects in the form of a shallow

⁵⁷ Løds, *op. cit.*, p. 30, and Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵⁸ See Num. 7:14, where there is mentioned "one *kaf* of ten gold shekels full of incense."

steatite pipe to which a long stem could be attached and on the bottom of some of which there is represented a hand in relief. Censers of this type have been found in north Syria and Assyria, as well as in Palestine. The earliest to occur in the latter region is a specimen in ivory dating from the eleventh century B.C. The other examples all emanate from the Hebrew period here under discussion. They have been found at Megiddo and at Kirjath-

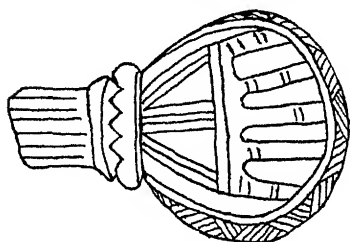


FIG. 54.—Stone *kaf* censer from Megiddo. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. XVII, No. M4303.)

Sepher. The specimen from the latter site has a lion head on the inside of the cup, with the lower jaw forming the cup itself.

It is possible that the lion symbol on the Kirjath-Sepher censer may connect this instrument with mother-goddess wor-

ship.⁵⁹ The use of the hand on other examples may support this inference, for it is well known that the hand is a fertility symbol and is used in the Old Testament itself as a euphemism for the phallus.⁶⁰ It is possible that the use of the censer in a primitive and zoöomorphic fertility rite is described in Ezek. 8: 10 f., where seventy elders of Israel stand, with smoking censers in hand, before reptilian and bestial idols depicted on the walls of a secret underground chamber.⁶¹

⁵⁹ See above, pp. 252 ff.

⁶⁰ See W. C. Graham, "Some Suggestions toward the Interpretation of Micah 1: 10-16," *AJSL*, XLVII (1931), 254.

⁶¹ For a discussion of the *kaf* censer and a bibliography on the subject, see *OIP*, XXVI, 19 f. and Pl. XVII. See also W. F. Albright, "The Fourth

The remains of only a few temples dating from the Middle Iron or Hebrew period in Palestine have been recovered by the excavators. This is partly due to the need of further efforts at many sites and partly to the fact that there were relatively few centers populous and wealthy enough to support the more elaborate cultic activities which go with such an edifice. The smaller centers would doubtless be served, except on special occasions, by open-air sanctuaries or high places, some of which would, in this age, probably be equipped with an unpretentious building difficult to distinguish, even then, from neighboring structures. It was in such places "from Geba to Beersheba" that many of the Levites who were in actual fact deprived of their office by Josiah's reforms, in spite of the provision permitting them to celebrate it at the Jerusalem temple, ministered. The presence of representatives of an organized priesthood in any locality suggests a sacred building of some sort. Moreover, the fact that the Deuteronomic legislators recognized that the closing of the local sanctuaries created an economic problem for a group which included not only the Levite but the widow, the fatherless (sic!), and the transient or socially unattached, so that it was necessary to enjoin the community to care for these as had been done under the old régime,

Joint Campaign of Excavation at Tell Beit Mirsim," *BASOR*, No. 47 (October, 1932), p. 16 and Fig. 11. It is an interesting fact that the hand has come into the Christian cult as a religious symbol. Perhaps through the agency of pagan Jews it was adopted by the Phrygian cult of Sabazios. There, with thumb and first two fingers extended, it may have symbolized the trinity of this cult. In this form it may have influenced the Latin benediction in bestowing which the extended digits symbolize the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. See W. O. E. Oesterly, "The Cult of Sabazios" in *The Labyrinth* (ed. S. H. Hooke), pp. 138 ff.

suggests that in many communities there was a considerable group which achieved social integration only through the shrine. At some points there possibly still survived a cultic life which approximated the simple religion of fellowship which is reflected in the account of Samuel's ministry at Ramah in an early source. But, if the evidence of the contemporary prophets is to be given much credence, even the simpler local sanctuaries and high places had been, to some extent, conformed to the more complex religious pattern which had been introduced with Mother Earth worship. Here and there, where the social psychology was still influenced by the more primitive religion of fellowship which emphasized human values there were nurtured individuals, like some of the prophets, who were irked by the materialism of the prevailing social mood. Significantly enough, the greatest weight of the condemnation of the early prophets was directed at the more elaborate city shrines, though the most discerning of them knew full well that the mood of the city was fast becoming also that of the village.

From the biblical records one may learn of temples located at Dan, Bethel, Samaria, Jerusalem, and Bethshan.⁶² These are not all Yahweh temples, or even Hebrew temples. But there is, as will shortly appear, some reason to believe that each important city, especially if it were an administrative center, would have a relatively imposing sacred edifice.

No temples of the same architectural plan as that of Solomon have as yet been uncovered. The plan of this temple is described in I Kings, chapter 6. It had the sim-

⁶² I Sam. 31:10; I Kings 5:1 ff.; 12:29 ff.; 16:32; II Kings 10:21; 11:18.

ple rectangular construction which other recovered temples of the age have, but this was elaborated by the addition of a porch at the front and by galleries built against the walls, in which were side chambers in three tiers or floors.

The Mizpeh temples, which have already been described, continued in use through this period.⁶³ A building of similar construction at Gerar has been identified as a temple;⁶⁴ but, since no cultic objects have been recov-

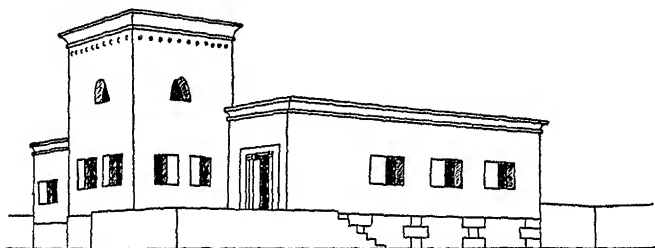


FIG. 55.—Reconstruction of the Megiddo temple. (After *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, Pl. V.)

ered from it, the identification is not as yet substantiated. One of the most striking discoveries has been that of the temple at Megiddo, to which reference has been made in discussing the star of Astarte, or shield of David, the horned altars of limestone, and the pottery shrines and incense altar (see Fig. 55).

It is not surprising that a temple should be discovered at this site. In Solomon's time it was, along with Taanach and Bethshan, one of the chief cities of its district. Even

⁶³ See W. F. Badè, *PEFQS*, LXII (1930), 8 ff.

⁶⁴ Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and Pl. IX; cf. also G. Duncan, *Digging up Bible History*, II (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 117.

from the Late Bronze Age there emanates a clay tablet, found at Taanach, which enjoins the recipient, Ishtar-wasue, as follows: "May Adad protect thy life. Send thy brothers with their wagons, and send a horse, thy tribute, and gifts, and all the prisoners who are with you; send them tomorrow to Megiddo."⁶⁵ In his reorganization of his provinces in the latter half of the eighth century B.C. Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria made Megiddo the administrative center of its district.⁶⁶ Even the modern designation of the site, Tell el-Mutesellim (Mound of the Tax Collector) seems to preserve a memory of this city's earlier administrative importance.

The construction of this temple was of the same type as that which was employed in the inner court of Solomon's temple, viz., three courses of hewn stone with a fourth course of cedar beams. The three courses of stone are visible in Figure 55 in the base of the stone piers. The spaces between these piers were filled with a much less finished stone wall, above which were traces of a course of cedar beams. Analysis of the ashes on the stone wall, for this temple had been burned perhaps in the ninth or eighth century B.C., disclosed that above the cedar beams the superstructure was of mud brick. One of the architectural features of the building was the five proto-Ionic capitals previously mentioned. Before the building there was a tower which may have served as a last defense for the building in case the walls of the city were breached by an attacking force.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ F. Hrozný, *Tell Taanach Letters*, No. 5.

⁶⁶ E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920); D. D. Luckenbill, *ARA*, Vol. I, par. 815.

⁶⁷ This temple occurs in an area of the city which was sanctified in the preceding period (eleventh century) by the presence of what would seem

The evidence associated with this ruin strongly supports the conclusion that it was a center of Mother Goddess worship. But since this was one of Solomon's chief cities and apparently an outstanding Hebrew center, it is almost incredible that Yahweh should play no part in its cultic life. Schumacher's discovery of certain standing stones or *maṣṣēvōth* in association with this building at least opens up the possibility that Yahweh may also have been worshiped here. For these objects, as already pointed out, often signify the male deity, consort of the deity who is symbolized by the *Ashērāh*, or sacred pole. Evidence has already been cited in support of the fact that Yahweh was thought of by some of his worshipers in this period as having a consort.⁶⁹

That Yahweh was involved in a relatively complex cultus in which he had to share honors and devotion with other deities is further supported, not only by important biblical admissions, but also by the evidence drawn from proper names which occur both in the text of the Old Testament and in the few inscriptions which have been recovered.

Saul honored Yahweh in the name of his son, Jonathon (Yahweh-has-given). This very name implies that Yahweh was conceived, in baalistic fashion, as the giver of life. Hence, it is not surprising to find another son of Saul's with the name Meribaal. Ahab, who built a temple to Baal in Samaria, honored Yahweh in the name of his son,

to have been a sanctuary with standing stones (*maṣṣēvōth*). After its destruction by fire, as described above, the temple was rebuilt, perhaps during the eighth century; and two *maṣṣēvōth* in the cultus room were re-employed. For analysis, see *OIP*, Vol. XXVI, chap. ii.

⁶⁹ See above, p. 166.

Ahaziah (Yahweh-has-grasped). This latter name suggests the possibility that Yahweh is conceived under the baalistic pattern, for the idiom "grasp," or "seize," or "take forcibly," is elsewhere used to express the divine selection of an individual, whether as ruler or as prophet, to be the instrument of his power—an idea that was native to the nature-worship milieu.⁷⁰ The proper names of the early Hebrew period, then, suggest that Yahwism was a baalistic rite with such clear affinities with Jezebel's Tyrian baalism that the latter only came to be regarded as invasive because of its association with certain economic and social maladjustments, which were, however, as some prophets such as Hosea recognized, the fruit of Israel's own inherited way rather than of foreign pressure.

The proper names in the ostraca from Samaria tell the same story of the affinity of the traditionally accepted pattern of culture in Israel with that of the surrounding world. It took time for nationalism to break down the ancient and inherited catholicism and open the way for the rise of that particularism which was to eventuate ultimately in a distinctively Hebrew culture. Many Baal names, such as Meribaal, Abibaal, Baalzamar, and Baal-meoni, occur in these records. There is no reason to believe that those who bestowed these names on their children were in every case honoring the Baal Melqart of Tyre. It is much more probable that, under this catholic term, many of them were honoring Yahweh. Such names as Gadiyo, Shemaryo, Yedayo, and Marnayo, which designate Yahweh specifically, may bespeak the rise of a particularistic trend. The last of these, Marnayo, may be an

⁷⁰ Cf. Isa. 45:1 (יָזַק) and Amos 7:15 (לִקֵּחַ).

identification of Yahweh with the deity, Marna, later worshiped in Gaza.⁷¹ The origin of this deity is obscure. It is possible that *marna* may be an Aramaic word meaning "our Lord," and that its bearer was of Syrian descent, a circumstance that would not be surprising in view of the close relations existing between Damascus and Israel in the times of Omri and Ahab.

These ostraca from Samaria may be taken as evidence that the form of the divine name commonly in use there was Yō. This particular monosyllabic form of the name is familiar to Old Testament readers in names such as Joel (Yō-ēl = Yō is God). The monosyllabic form Yah, which occurs in proper name compounds such as Ahaziah and in the familiar compound expression "Hallelujah" ("praise ye Yah"), as well as being used separately,⁷² is also found on a fragment of a pottery bowl from Samaria which is inscribed "To Yah."⁷³ The form Yō occurs as a separate word on the shoulder of a wine or oil jar found at Megiddo which is inscribed "To Yō," that is, Yō's property. This reminds one that on an idol offered for sale as a Moabite antiquity by the notorious Shapira⁷⁴ there was inscribed precisely this legend, without the preposition, which, prior to the discovery of the vendor's unreliability was thought to be an occurrence of the divine name.⁷⁵ If this piece was

⁷¹ See Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 ff. For the religion of the period see J. W. Jack, "La situation religieuse d'Israel au temps d'Ahab," *RHR*, CXII (1935), 145 ff.

⁷² Cf. Exod. 15:2, etc.

⁷³ G. A. Reisner, *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I, 238; Vol. II, Pl. 55b.

⁷⁴ See below, Appendix, p. 326.

⁷⁵ See "Lieut. Claude R. Conder's Reports," *PEFQS*, IV (1873), 89.

a forgery, it is a curious anticipation of this actual inscription from Megiddo. The latter was found in stratum II, which ends about the time of the defeat or assassination of Josiah of Judah there by the Pharaoh Necho of Egypt in 608 B.C. One recalls that Josiah and his followers are said to have manifested a reforming interest in the territories formerly belonging to the then defunct kingdom of Israel.⁷⁶ Josiah's position, in such an event, would be delicate, for those territories were still nominally under the sway of the then fast-disintegrating Assyrian empire. There is much reason to believe that some political motivation underlay this religious reform and that the sponsors of it may have felt that time to be an auspicious moment in which to lay claim, on behalf of David's house, to those northern territories which had once actually comprised a part of its founder's domain. Such an aggression on the territories of the former kingdom of Israel, now nominally at last an Assyrian province, could be carried out without overt offense to Assyria, or possibly even to an interested Egypt, under the guise of a religious crusade. A jar inscribed as was this one might, after Josiah's reform, have been in use as a standard measure for what was ostensibly a temple toll but really a state tax. The inscription on this jar reminds one of the tax jars used in eighth century Judah which bore on their handles the stamp "Belonging to the King." In post-exilic times jars used for tax purposes were stamped, as a brilliant study by Sukenik has recently shown,⁷⁷ with the inscription

⁷⁶ II Kings 23:19.

⁷⁷ E. L. Sukenik, "Paralipomena Palaestina," *JPOS*, XIV (1934), 178 ff.; see also *JPOS*, XV (1935), 341 ff.

YHD and YH, both of which indicate *Yehud*, that is, Judah.

Yō, which may possibly have been pronounced Yau, was certainly, by attestation of non-biblical evidence, early in use as a form of the divine name. It occurs in the compound divine name, Yo-Elat, in the Ras Shamra texts which antedate all Old Testament writings. Elat means goddess, and this name is comparable to the Anath-Yahu of the Elephantine papyri which designates Anath, consort of Yahweh. It means either "Yahweh, consort of the goddess," or "The goddess, consort of Yahweh."⁷⁸

The earliest non-biblical attestation of the use of the tetragrammaton or full form of the divine name (YHWH) occurs on the Mesha inscription or Moabite stone. The relevant sentence, slightly reconstructed,⁷⁹ reads: "And I took from there the *ariels* of YHWH and dragged them before Chemosh."⁸⁰ In some ostraca recently found at Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish?) containing copies of corre-

⁷⁸ Cf. R. Dussaud, "Le sanctuaire et les dieux phéniciens de Ras Shamra," *RHR*, CV (1932), 245 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, "Die Wanderung palastinisch-syrischer Götter nach Ost und West im zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend," *JPOS*, XIV (1934), 298 f.; T. H. Gaster, "The Ras Shamra Texts and the Old Testament," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 141 ff.; H. Bauer, *Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra*, ZAW, LI (1933), 92 ff.

⁷⁹ The word *ariels* is included on the basis of the parallel in l. 12. On the omission of the sign of the accusative, cf. l. 3.

⁸⁰ Most interesting evidence has recently been discovered on a stele dating from the Late Bronze Age that the cultus of Moab was of the nature attributed to it in such passages as I Kings 11:7, 33; II Kings 23:13; Jer. 48:7; etc., as early as that date. See W. W. Crowfoot, "An Expedition to Balu'ah," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 76 ff. and Pl. I; G. Horsfield and L. H. Vincent, "Une stèle Egypto-Moabite au Balou'a," *RB*, XLI (1932), 417 ff. Cf. M. E. Driston, *ibid.*, XLII, 353 ff.; and F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria*, Vol. XII (1931), Pl. VI.

spondence between Jewish officials of the period just prior to the destruction of Lachish by Nebuchadrezzar the tetragrammaton (YHWH) also occurs. The compound form is likewise found in such names as Gemariah, Mataniah, Neriah, Jaazaniah, and Jeremiah.⁸¹ The tetragrammaton, and also the form YH, occur incised on Persian and Hellenistic potsherds from Samaria upon which are the legends, "To Yah" and "To Yahweh." Sukenik also suggests that a potsherd from Gerar originally bore the inscription, "To Yah."⁸²

Looking at this evidence, typical of that which may be derived from proper names, it seems more than ever reasonable to believe that even prior to the Hebrew period the god, Yahweh, was involved in the nature-cult milieu and that he did not clearly emerge from it until late in the pre-exilic period, when the full force of the pre-exilic prophetic protest against the underlying philosophy of that rite began to be inexorably driven home to the more intelligent elements in Hebrew society by the logic of fact. It is, consequently, quite possible that prior to the rise of this prophetic movement, and even during its earlier stages, there was little to differentiate the generally ac-

⁸¹ Sir C. Marston, "Hebrew Potsherds from Tell Duweir," *PEFQS*, LXVII (1935), 91 ff.; "The Lachish Letters," *Expository Times*, XLVI (1935), 503 ff.; and J. L. Starkey, "Finds from Biblical Lachish," *ILN*, July 6, 1935, pp. 19 ff.; "The Lachish Letters and an Alphabetic Missing Link," *ibid.*, August 10, 1935, p. 242; W. F. Albright, "A Supplement to Jeremiah: the Lachish Ostraca," *BASOR*, No. 61 (1936), pp. 10 ff. Starkey notes that sixteen names out of twenty-one as yet deciphered in these ostraca are compounded with the name of the Hebrew deity. In this correspondence appear references to biblical data of the time of Jeremiah.

⁸² E. L. Sukenik, "Potsherds from Samaria, Inscribed with the Divine Name," *PEFQS*, LXVIII (1936), 34 ff.

cepted cultus of Yahweh from that of other nature deities in the surrounding areas. The cultic conditions the prophets describe are not, though they seemed to them so to be, as much the result of politically motivated syncretism as of inherited cultural affinity with neighboring societies.

On one point concerning the religious evolution in Palestine during the Hebrew period the discoveries of excavators have, up to the present, proved somewhat disappointing. This concerns the generally accepted Hebrew view of death and of the post-mortem fate of the individual. Though the spade has unearthed many tombs of the "Canaanite" period, especially from Hyksos times, surprisingly few tombs from the Hebrew period have been uncovered.

It will be possible here to discuss only a few representative burials from this age and to endeavor to interpret them in the light of the general cultic remains and of the attitudes to death and the post-mortem state reflected in representative passages from the Old Testament.

Mortuary practices appear to vary widely within the confines of Palestine during the Hebrew period. At Tell Fara (ancient Sharuhen) in the Judean Negeb, Petrie found large graves containing many bodies.⁸³ These were sealed above with covering limestone slabs. One of the larger, in dimensions 12 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 1 inch, contained the remains of one hundred and sixteen adults and six children. That these Sharuhen slab-cover tombs do not reflect a practice of mere unconsidered bestowal of the remains of the dead is seen in the fact that they contained mortuary furnishings. In one

⁸³ *Beth Pelet*, I, 11 ff.

tomb Petrie found the bronze fittings of a couch on which the corpse had apparently been placed.⁸⁴ The use of a couch in the tomb is reflected in Job 17:13 ff.

If I await Sheol, my house,
If in darkness I spread my couch,

.

Where then is my hope?
And who will see my prosperity?

At the same site Petrie also found several tenth-century cinerary urns, containing partly charred bones. This practice of incineration, however, does not reflect carelessness about the post-mortem state. For it was usual to find inside the cinerary jars two or three small pots. Sometimes a flat dish was placed over the mouth of the jar. In other cases a small pile of stones had been left on top of it. Adults, as well as children, were buried this way. In addition to these two types of interment, ordinary grave burials were also found.⁸⁵

The Sharuhén burials are somewhat unusual.⁸⁶ Much

⁸⁴ *Beth Pelet*, I, Pls. XLV and XLVI. This tomb was dated by Petrie at about 850 B.C., but recent investigation places it in the Persian period ca. 450-330 B.C. Cf. J. H. Iliffe, "A Tell Fara Tomb Group Reconsidered," *QDAP*, IV (1935), 182 ff.

⁸⁵ *Beth Pelet*, I pp. 12 f. and Pl. XXXIXA, 1.

⁸⁶ One must mention the five slab-covered masonry graves from Gezer which were different from any others found in the neighborhood. They contained deposits of ornaments and food with the skeletons. See Macalister's *Gezer*, I, 289 ff. Such tombs with cover slabs are probably not of Semitic but of foreign, invasive origin. J. L. Meyers assumed (*PEFQS*, 1907, p. 240) that they belonged to Aegean intruders who had invaded the Philistine coast in the earlier period. Hence Macalister calls them "the 'Philistine' graves." Similar graves from the same general period as those at Gezer recently found at Ras Shamra are thought, by C. F. A. Schaeffer, to belong to "une population non orientale . . . vers le milieu du dernier millénaire avant notre ère." See *Syria*, XVI (1935), 148 ff.

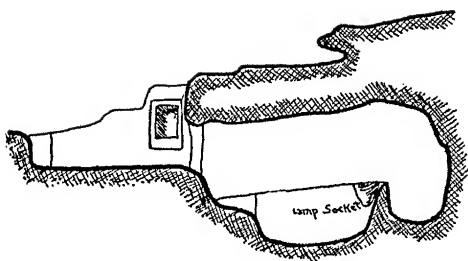
more typical of the mortuary practice of the age are the burials found by Badè at Mizpeh.⁸⁷ They are very similar to those uncovered by Mackenzie at Beth Shemesh⁸⁸ or by Macalister at Gezer.⁸⁹ A description of one of these tombs at Mizpeh will serve to illustrate the nature of these burials (see Fig. 56). Leading from a small forecourt cut into the rock was a low door. Its door stone, fitted into a recessed frame in the rock, was still in place. It led into a hewn rock chamber. The center of the floor was depressed about 18 inches to form a sort of pit. This left shelves or benches on three sides. Near the two farther corners of the pit were lamp sockets. In the farther left-hand corner of the tomb, and under an alcove, was a small depression which may have served as a storage pit. In the farther right corner of the chamber was another alcove, in which there was a shallow socket for a lamp. This socket was discolored by smoke, suggesting that the lamp had been left lighted when the door was closed after one or more of the burials. Outside, in the forecourt, there was another door with recessed frame leading into a small niche, the purpose of which is obscure. Little of the skeletal remains were found in this tomb, as they had been disintegrated by the rains of many years. Enough was found to indicate that the corpses had been laid out on the benches about the pit as though on a couch or divan.

The bestowal of the bodies in such burials has led to the suggestion that these benches are in imitation of the

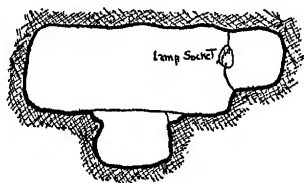
⁸⁷ *Some Tombs of Tell en-Nasbeh*, "Palestine Institute Publications," No. 2 (Berkeley, 1931).

⁸⁸ D. A. Mackenzie, "Tombs of Beth Shemesh," *PEFA*, 1912-13, pp. 40 ff.

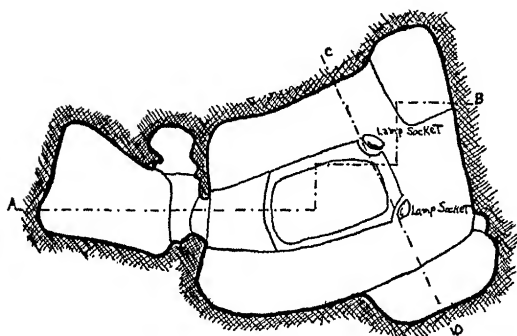
⁸⁹ *Gezer*, I, 315 f., 318 f., 336 f., 353, 359; and plates to correspond in Vol. III.



Cross-section along *AB*



Cross-section along *CD*



Plan

FIG. 56.—Plan and cross-sections of a tomb of the Hebrew period at Mizpeh. (After W. F. Badè, *Palestine Institute Publication*, No. 2, p. 10, Fig. IV.)

divans used for sleeping in oriental houses. Indeed, it seems possible that the tomb chamber was modeled after a dwelling with the same furnishing, food, and drink as were furnished the living.⁹⁰ Badè accepts this view and compares the repository or pit in the left inner corner of the chamber with the small storage rooms or recesses found in the same position in the Israelite houses on the *tell*. The couch found by Petrie, although of a later date, points in the same direction, and it is to be noted that in Job 17:13 Sheol is referred to as "my house."

The lamps are a prominent feature in the furnishing of these tombs at Mizpeh. One tomb contained fifteen, and another sixty-two. There were, of course, several interments in each of these tombs, so that lamps were not deposited in such numbers with a single burial. As an item of mortuary furnishing, the lamp is not peculiar to this period. It occurs as early as it is possible to identify such a utensil. Unusual specimens with four lips were, for example, found in an Early Bronze tomb at Tell ed-Duweir.⁹¹ Their mortuary use continues in tombs of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when they are plentiful, and even later than Roman times. Nor, as is well known, is the use of the mortuary lamp peculiar to the Hebrews or to Palestine. Their relation to the "lamp and bowl"

⁹⁰ Cf. Mackenzie, *loc. cit.*, and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 168. A tomb similarly constructed with benches was found at Tell ed-Duweir. On the benches were human remains, pottery, and a three-pronged fork which Starkey associated with the incident recounted in I Sam. 2:13 f. There was also a bone plaque with thirty holes, which was interpreted as being possibly a calendar used for noting the days of the month. See J. L. Starkey, *PEFQS*, LXVII (1935), 202 f. and Pl. XVII.

⁹¹ J. L. Starkey, "Excavations at Tell ed-Duweir, 1933-34," *PEFQS*, LXVI (1934), 165 and Pl. III, Fig. 2.

deposits previously mentioned is uncertain.⁹² This tomb, as shown by the forms of some of the pottery found in it, had been used in the Hellenistic period.

These lamps, then, serve again to illustrate the continuity of mortuary practice in the Hebrew age in Palestine with preceding ages and to emphasize once more the affinity of the cultic pattern with that of the surrounding regions. This is further emphasized by the numerous other articles found in tombs. In the one described above were several small, black juglets, and bowls and jugs of various types. In other tombs of this period are found mother-goddess and animal figurines, rattles, scarabs, implements or tools, and weapons.⁹³

In the Old Testament are found reflections of many of the data discovered in these tombs which suggest that such burials were a part of the generally accepted pattern of life. There are, for example, many references to the burial of more than one body in the same tomb.⁹⁴ This custom also antedated the Hebrew period. A clear suggestion of the burial of the dead with the weapons they used when alive is found in Exod. 32:27: "But they do not lie down with the foreign warriors of old who went down to Sheol with their weapons of war, whose swords

⁹² Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 f.

⁹³ See Mackenzie, *loc. cit.*; Badè, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.; W. M. F. Petrie, *Beth-Pelet*, Vol. I, Pl. XXXVIII. The presence of weapons in tombs of the Hebrew period is much less marked than in earlier periods. No weapons are mentioned by Badè as coming from his tombs, and Mackenzie found only arrowheads and knives, which may have had no military significance. Discounting the weapons in the Gerar tombs, it may be said that the normal conception of the future life held by the Hebrews had less militaristic coloring than was the case in earlier periods.

⁹⁴ Cf. I Kings 13:31 f.; II Kings 13:21; Ezek. 32:17 ff.

were laid under their heads, and their shields upon their bodies, because the terror of their might was on the land of the living."⁹⁵ The thought of death as a sleep which is reflected in the mortuary divan or couch finds expression in the oft-repeated formula used of the kings, "He slept with his fathers."⁹⁶ One may reasonably assume that elaborate mortuary rites, in which great deposits of food, of drink, and of clothing and equipment were carried in procession to the monarch's last home, were features of these royal burials. It is related that Samuel, when summoned from the tomb by the medium of Endor at Saul's behest, came up from the earth wrapped in a mantle. The dead were clothed for the tomb as the living for life.

It is difficult and even impossible, in the present state of knowledge, to interpret the significance of these mortuary customs of the Hebrew period in relation to the attitude to death and the post-mortem state reflected in the Old Testament. In attempting to do so, one should make use only of sources known to have been composed in pre-exilic times. These should then be considered in the light of the evolution of cultic life in Palestine, so far as it can be understood.

It seems possible that the Palestinians of pre-Hyksos times were much preoccupied with death and developed in reaction to it a religion of hope which may have looked in the direction of a satisfying life after death. Left to itself, this might have developed into a view of the hereafter such as took root in early Egypt when the solar cult

⁹⁵ Following the translation of T. J. Meek in *The Old Testament: An American Translation*.

⁹⁶ I Kings 2:10; 14:31; 16:28; *et passim*.

of Ra was supreme. In that early age the Egyptian learned to project a hope of a celestial hereafter where the dead abode in a realm of light and could, indeed, even be identified with the sun god. That cheerful hope was never eradicated from the Egyptian psychology and is the root of their elaborate physical preparations for death, including their marvelous skill in embalming. Even later, when the Osiris cult, with its subterranean hereafter, penetrated the country and became influential, so that the idea of a celestial hereafter was abandoned, Osiris, the deity of the sub-terrestrial hereafter, was endowed with solar attributes and through his land flowed a Nether Nile where the solar bark sailed from sunset to sunrise.

But in the less genial clime of Palestine, with its dark, damp, cold winters, the religion of hope was not quite so irrepressible. The concept of a celestial hereafter never took root—or, if it did, never took deep root. Life, as in the workaday world of his experience, was the greatest height to which the hope of the Palestinian could rise. When the fertility cultus, with its emerging emphasis on death as a part of a cycle of life, entered the country, it appears to have found the average Palestinian quite receptive to its habit of conceiving death in terms of the darkness of the winter. Its land beyond was a subterranean, dank, and joyless place.

Yet, the true import of this conception of Sheol is more than likely to be lost if it be not set in its proper place in the total conception of which it was originally a part. The Hebrew Sheol, whence the individual never returned, or the Mesopotamian Land of No Return, were not conceived as the scene of a post-mortem life but as places of

minimum existence. There was no living there in any real sense of the term. That is the force of the Psalmist's plaint, doubtless of early origin, when he writes:

For there is not in death remembrance of thee:
In Sheol who praises thee,⁹⁷

and of the reflection of the writer of Isa. 38:18:

For Sheol cannot praise thee,
Nor death glorify thee:
He who goes down to the pit cannot hope for thy love.

But, while a few individuals of the post-Hebrew period followed this feeling of antithesis between life and death to its logical conclusion and looked upon death as extinction, that was not the earlier and generally accepted conception of Sheol. There was no life there, but there was existence. Samuel could be summoned from that land of shades and could, back in the terrestrial scene, pick up the threads of life for a moment. Sheol was not a hell cut off from God, ruled out of the cosmic plan. The plaint of the Psalmists is not that it is not under God's authority:

Where shall I go from thy Spirit?
And where shall I flee from thy presence?
If I ascend to the heavens thou art there!
If I make my bed in Sheol, thou art there also!⁹⁸

The trouble with Sheol is not that it is a godless place but that it is a place where God cannot be praised, where life cannot be lived, and yet a place where existence is not ended.

That peculiar way of looking at the post-mortem state comes from the contemplation of the analogy between the annual cycle and human life. In winter the world is not

⁹⁷ Ps. 6:5, cf. Ps. 88; 115:3a, 16 f.

⁹⁸ Ps. 139:7 f.

alive, nor yet is it dead in the sense of being extinct and finished. It will revive, and full-orbed life will go on again on its bosom. Death is not extinction, but an undesirable phase of existence the endurance of which is necessary to the perpetuation of the life that is lived in the physical world.

The Hebrew conception of the world of the dead is, then, a fruit of their preoccupation with, and appreciation of, the world of the living. It reflects not a pessimism about life but a love of it and an undergirding faith that life, as men can know it here, is somehow the supremely real thing.

The Hebrew had, indeed, no sense of personal or individual persistence. But he had an overwhelming sense of the invincibility of the life-process. His hope was not projected in himself but in the fruit of his loins. For him, individually, the experience of living might be suspended, but there would be a lamp in his tomb as long as there was issue of his body, the gift of the God of life. Some such thought as this may have caused the progeny of the dead to place the symbolical lamp in his tomb. It is worth noting that the promise to David that he would not lack progeny was couched in a figure of speech which made allusion to the lighting of a lamp.⁹⁹ The frequent insistence on the vitality of the royal root which must put forth its shoots as needed conveys the same idea.¹⁰⁰ And that feeling about the royal line symbolizes the psychology of the group as a whole.

The prophetic insistence upon righteousness in the life

⁹⁹ II Sam. 21:17. See A. R. Johnson, in Hooke's *Labyrinth*, pp. 73 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Isa. 11:1.

of this present world grows from this conception. It is, in fact, a sublimation of it which regenerates and revitalizes it. The failure of the prophets to point men to an other-worldly paradise is due to no lack of appreciation of life but to a profound and realistic sense of its possibilities and its value. And when, in the course of time, the individual began to think of himself as such, and to demand, like Job, a personal vindication and salvation, the heirs of Hebrew culture developed a conception of the other world in which his status there was dependent on his conduct here, a paradise which no one might enter by priestly magic but only by moral transformation. There is no peril to the society of the here in hope that projects itself in that conception of the hereafter. Thus conscience regenerates a disintegrating culture and raises mere love of life to love of the good life.

CHAPTER IX

THE DIVINE PLAN IN THE BLURRED RECORD

All life is a questing. The drive of living organisms for satisfactions is the key to the understanding of our world-drama. Man was a late comer on the stage. When he first emerged through the dawn shadows with wonder in his eyes, he had climbed to his high status upon the hard-earned experience of innumerable living forms. Heir of the ages he began his long march toward mastery of the planet. The record is blurred.—A. E. HAYDON.¹

The blurring of the record is part of the price man has paid for such mastery of his planet as he now enjoys. In the earlier stages of his long battle for survival he was too much preoccupied with precarious circumstance, too deeply impressed with his physical inferiority to more massive and mighty living forms, to entertain even the conception of a record. Those fabricated mementoes of his life in this stage which survive to the present are not representations of himself but, like the bison of Altamira, depictions of those physically stronger forms of life with which he had to cope and upon which he had to fit himself to prey. The sense of the need of a record of his own life does not appear to have dawned upon man's mind until there began that phase of the human evolution which saw the break-up of the old biological races within what might be described as environmental provinces. With this inevitable reaction to the great major physical features of

¹ *The Quest of the Ages* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1929), p. 1.

the earth's surface there was inaugurated that provincial attitude to the world which achieves its highest expression in what is known as the cultural race, a group which is the product of the human struggle in some particular environmental unit of the earth's surface. With the emergence in such groups of the sense of the need to perpetuate the group as such rises that disposition to link the present with the past which develops through the oral circulation of myth, legend, folk tale, and tradition into the written authoritative chronicle of the past which is dignified as history. The record is, in the case of each and every cultural race, or section of such, the product of a provincialistic attitude to life.

This provincialism was born of necessity and was not without benefit to man. The necessity was inherent in the structure of the earth's surface. The benefit came through the greater intensity and continuity with which the problems of any given environment could be attacked. It is true that in the end this led to competition and struggle and to the interpenetration of cultural groups. Yet even this, aside from man's perennial inhumanity to man, was not without benefit, since it led always to the wider diffusion of the more successful techniques. Looking back upon all that chequered story of human conflict, it is hard to see how man could have achieved the mastery of his planet which he now enjoys in any other way. But that does not alter the fact that the limitations man embraced when he adopted the provincialism which is fundamental to cultural racialism inevitably blurred his records of his past.

It is the truth of this which at once challenges and

justifies the science of history. If the record were clear, if the accuracy and the intellectual honesty of those who indited it could be taken as a matter of course, there would be no need for the historian. Yet, there is no occupation known to men today which summons those who give themselves to it with a stronger assurance of vocation. And note the nature of this vocation! It is a vocation to detachment. The prime qualification of the historian is freedom from provincialism, devotion to a catholic attitude to life through which truth may be supreme. The historian and the science which he serves constitute the clearest indication possible that the record is blurred. If it were not, they would not exist. And their *raison d'être* is the disposition which was inherent in cultural racialism, through all its forms and manifestations, to subordinate the record to the demands of the crises in the group life, to reconstruct the past in the light of the exigent present and the wishful future.

Until very recent times this blurring of the record which the historian is called to clarify did not seem to matter so much. But this is not the case today. At the crossroads where humanity now stands, it is of vital import because until it is overcome the race will find neither the vision to choose the path of destiny nor the dynamic to tread it. Only within the memory of some who are yet alive has man's mastery of the planet reached the point which makes it imperative that the blurred records of his past should be clarified. The provincialistic attitudes which brought about its blurring have outlived their usefulness to his future need, but they cannot be dissipated until the buttresses of false history which support them

are broken down. The amazing technological progress, especially of the past century, has outleaped every environmental barrier. All men are today, whether they wish to be or not, citizens of the world. The cultural race has already outlived its adequacy as a social instrument. It must, in time, be superseded, just as it, in the dim past, superseded the biological race. If man is to become what his mastery of the planet might permit him to be, if he is to march on to that destiny which is adumbrated in his history, he must diligently, honestly, and fearlessly inquire how he came to be as he is. The eye of ignorance, of prejudice, of wish-thinking, will not suffice him to discern the possibilities for his future which lie in his true past. If he is not to destroy himself by the clever engines of his own invention, he must begin now, under a sense of its vital urgency, an attempt to *understand* the present and to *condition* the future in the light of the *relevant* past.² A world made physically a unit by man's technological genius awaits—nay, insistently demands—some truly catholic vision of social order in the interests of which the cohesiveness and continuity of the local cultural group may be wisely, yet firmly, modified.

Civilization is threatened today by provincialistic and abortive nationalisms, masquerading as cultural movements, which shake their febrile fists in the face of the race and dare Man to march onward toward his true destiny. Within both Judaism and Christianity there are elements whose wisest leaders still bow unafraid at the shrine of truth and behold there a compelling vision of a liberated humanity, released from the chains of the now irrele-

² See pp. xxii ff.

vant past, striding on to a more glorious future. But if this is ever to become more than a mere vision, the hour has now struck when those who see it must no longer count the cost of severing dear and comfortable associations in the interests of a truer catholicism than the world has ever seen. The spiritual future lies only with that courageous minority of all groups who not only read the blurred record aright but are ready to consecrate their reading of it through suffering.

No more than that of any other cultural race has the Hebrew record escaped that blurring of the record which, in the past, has been incidental to the struggle for existence. This, in a nutshell, is the thesis which the higher criticism has successfully defended against all comers. One cannot, so the critic has maintained, sit down to an uncritical and literalistic reading of the Old Testament scriptures, as they now stand, and come away with a true conception of the divine plan or of any particular phase of it. The differences which inevitably arise between those who follow such a procedure make this self-evident. This, however, is not at all to say that something of the divine plan may not be discerned in the Hebrew record. The higher criticism has always held the contrary and has demonstrated its sincerity by the painstaking research and sustained reflection which it has expended on these scriptures.

Frequently, when anything new which graphically illustrates the Old Testament has been turned up by the spade of the archaeologist, occasion is taken by certain interested groups to announce that the Old Testament has been proved and the higher critic confounded. Such was

the case, for example, when the discovery of the new ostraca at Tell ed-Duweir was announced in the press. Yet, this find proved nothing for or against any particular view of the origin and development of Holy Writ. The use made of the material remains of the cultic life of Palestine in the preceding pages has, in loyalty to the scientific spirit which animates the genuine higher criticism, been made in the interests of no particular view of the nature and history of the Old Testament writings. Though archaeological endeavor in Palestine is as old as Constantine, it is only in its infancy. The merest fraction of the evidence hidden beneath the ground has been recovered and examined. The interpretation of it is necessarily tentative in the extreme. It is gladly recognized that the recovery of new evidence and the exercise of more mature judgment may well invalidate some of the conclusions tentatively suggested in the foregoing pages. The most extravagant hope which goes with this volume as it passes under the judgment of its readers is that the main outlines of the religious-cultural evolution which it pictures may prove to be relatively undistorted, and that some veritable suggestion of the rôle man is destined to play in the world in which he lives may rise from this picture of his experience in the Palestinian environment.³

³ For some years the authors have been emphasizing the value of, and endeavoring to practice, a cultural-anthropological approach to the literature of the Old Testament. The values of such an approach to it for the understanding of the religious aspects of Christian culture will bring this literature back to its rightful place in the cultural heritage of Western civilization. In an important article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, CXX (1935), 189 ff., under the title, "The Cultural Value of the Old Testament," Professor Hooke heralds a new and important addition to the methodology of Old Testament study in these words (p. 194): "It was

By bringing under consideration what evidence survives from ages long prior to the inditing of the very earliest fragment of the Old Testament there has been recognized, what that record itself when scientifically studied suggests, namely, the continuity of the cultural evolution in this as in any other given environmental area. Here, as elsewhere, it is not a case of the clear-cut supersedence of one culture and one type of religious interest by another. The past is always projected forward into the future. Life is seen manifesting itself as genetic activity. Man's appreciation of himself as part of a continuing order of things is reflected in the very earliest stage of his existence in Palestine in the primitive mortuary cult. Even then he had some measure of the clear disposition he later developed to try to look into the heart of reality and discern the meaning of his existence.

Not only did he see life as activity, but he came also to see it as growth. This conception is reflected in the progress achieved, within successive, increasingly complex cultural patterns each of which, however, is genetically related to its predecessor. These patterns were to the spiritual body of that society what the skeleton is to the physical body. They gave human endeavor an ideological form which expressed the increasing perspicuity of human attentiveness.

At first these patterns, which are easier to describe than suggested above that the first stage of the process of lifting the Old Testament from its artificial isolation, by the application of textual and literary criticism, was now completed. This is borne out by the fact that there is a growing sense that source-criticism has done its work, and that we have already entered upon a fresh phase of the study of the Old Testament."

to define, were, of necessity, very crude. When primitive man, through the mortuary cultus, began to develop a body of ideals and ideas, these must have been elementary in the extreme. At that stage man had evolved very little machinery for the expression and communication of ideas. If the Levalloisians and Neandertals of Palestine could speak at all, their language must have been capable of few abstractions. Some means of communication of ideas, as well as of techniques, must, however, have existed among them before the concept of the continuance of life could have institutionalized itself in the considered burials of the time. How man continued to comprehend his world and control his life within a development of this pattern, and how some of the ideals and ideas he learned to hold within it persist through later patterns, is best illustrated in the Egyptian culture, to which a cheerful and optimistic tone was imparted by the tenacious survival of the mortuary religion.

Just when the philosophy of the primitive mortuary cult in Palestine was modified by the conceptions and desires reflected in animism, it is hard to say. One may guess that this ideology may have become influential in the mode of Palestinian thought during the Mesolithic age. It presages that shifting of the human interest from self to environment, that progress of the mental habit from emotionally inspired hope toward intellectually based faith, which was by way of being a psychological preparation for the introduction into Palestine of the full-fledged agricultural religion which the Hyksos probably brought with them from the north.

The cultic remains of the late Middle Bronze and Late

Bronze ages reflect the complexity of that agricultural pattern when by it, for the first time in Palestine, emerging faith was ordered through a cultic mechanism that was a relatively effective instrument for conditioning the social psychology. This pattern was not simple, and its own inherent complexity as a reflection of the processes of nature was intensified by the influence of survivals from the earlier stages of the evolution. It cannot, therefore, be apprehended in terms of any single phase of its intricate nature. To understand some of the *motifs* of the ideology is not to understand the culture. To comprehend, for example, the mythology of the dying and rising god, which was continuously an important, if not even central, element in the religious thought of Palestine from the days of the Hyksos, is not to understand "Canaanite" culture. Further attempts must be made to grasp the pattern as a whole, but there is small likelihood of success in this except where there are available written records of the actions and reactions of individual men in terms of the prevailing habits of desire, thought, and action.

For the present, then, the most promising approach to the understanding of the Canaanite culture and of its more primitive predecessors is through the blurred record that lies on the pages of the Old Testament. This record permits one to see men as they lived and moved within a society dominated by the social psychology induced within a development of the Canaanite pattern. The true Hebrew culture only emerges from the womb of Canaanite culture, of which it is a regenerated and transformed version, by virtue of the stimulation contributed by a small minority. These, however, could not have scored such a

cultural achievement as is reflected in the Old Testament had there not been, in the Canaanite culture base on which they worked, elements of abiding value; had not previous generations, back to the dim ages of prehistory, made certain steps toward the spiritual progress of the Palestinian cultural race.

Culture had to dawn before the first light of conscience could break, and both of these were stages tardily achieved in Palestine. The dawn of conscience in Egypt may be discerned in the third, or even the fourth, millennium B.C. But in Palestine the first definite traces appear in the "Canaanite" culture of the second millennium B.C. One of these traces is reflected in the written record as it has come down in the Old Testament. It is the fact that it was in this Canaanite period that the folk of Palestine first became "law-minded." The blurred record, in response to later social motivations, now ascribes to Moses, the alleged predecessor of Joshua, all the legislation in the Pentateuch. While this cannot be sustained, it is worthy of note that this tradition of the adoption of social legislation in Palestine prior to Joshua, who perhaps lived about 1400 B.C., is not without foundation in fact. A developed legal code was in use there before this date. It was part and parcel of the cultural advance achieved within the Canaanite pattern. The emphasis on law which arose at this time was an expression of the developing social conscience which was one of the fruits of their more mature attentiveness to environment in relation to themselves. This advance is all the more noteworthy because it took place prior to the achievement of nationhood.

The code of laws which in this period became the basis of social relationships in Canaan was borrowed from Babylonia. Its prototype is found in the Code of Hammurabi, who reigned there in the twentieth century B.C. The surviving elements of this Canaanite adaptation of Babylonian law are found in the so-called "Covenant Code" of Exod. 20:23—23:33. This code preserves a blurred record of the earliest-known social legislation in Canaan. Its original was known at Shechem prior to the Hebrew entry into the country under Joshua. The twenty-fourth chapter of Joshua, which represents the latter as making a covenant with the people at Shechem and as recording the details of the adopted legislation in a book, reflects the adoption of this feature of the reigning culture by the earliest "Hebrews." The fact that there was a temple of Baal Berith (Lord of the Covenant) at Shechem⁴ echoes the same circumstance. Olmstead⁵ and others are therefore correct in ascribing the Palestinian origins of this code to the Canaanite civilization.

It would seem, then, that the *Canaanite* conscience was Mesopotamian just as was the Canaanite faith. This is the case in spite of the influence Egypt had by then long exercised upon the cultic order of the land. The *Hebrew* conscience, on the other hand, as Professor Breasted has brought out in tracing the origins of Messianism and social prophecy,⁶ reflects much more the influence of Egypt on the pattern of culture which was generally accepted in

⁴ See Judg. chaps. 8—10.

⁵ *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 107.

⁶ See J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, pp. 336 ff. How much the Hebrews owe, ethically speaking, to the Egyptians is perhaps best illustrated by reference to the fact that Prov. 22:17—24:23 is an almost exact translation of the Wisdom of Amenope, the Egyptian sage.

Palestine during the Hebrew period. The seeds of the prophetic reaction against this pattern were in the pattern itself. That the prophets condemned the order of their day is not to be understood as precluding this. There is a profound truth in Messianism which prophecy, taken as a whole, recognizes. The pre-exilic prophets who attacked the popular Messianism of their times were aroused by the degradation into which that concept was falling. They were objecting not to Messianism but to contemporary conceptions and abuses of it. They were engaged not in scrapping a long-tried pattern but in regenerating and transforming it. By their challenge to the contemporary religious ideology and social practice, they transformed the ancient heritage, derived in large part from surrounding cultures, into something peculiarly and distinctively Hebrew. They are, then, the creators of the Hebrew conscience as it is reflected in their writings and in the later literature of the Old Testament.

It is hard to see how such a development could have taken place prior to the prophetic age. In most respects the popular culture of the Hebrews certainly differed little from that of the Canaanites. The religious ideology current among them is strikingly like that which was in vogue at Ras Shamra. The same cultic instruments were in use in Palestine in the Hebrew period as had been employed under the Canaanite régime. The people were still tenaciously polytheistic and made use of the pre-Hebraic techniques for controlling their many deities. An ancient Canaanite returning to earth in the Hebrew period would have felt himself spiritually at home in the popular cultic life of the times.

On the other hand, not until the prophetic period did certain conditioning circumstances which are clearly reflected in the records of the distinctively Hebrew culture exist. Among these was the achievement of nationhood. This was something new in Palestine. The Hyksos had founded no nation in Palestine. Even when that country, after the times of Thutmose III (*ca.* 1500 B.C.), had been exclusively under Egyptian political control, it had experienced the upsurge of no wave of sentiment which could unite its various regions in the bonds of unity.⁷ The path to cultural racialism was only opened for the Hebrews by the slow growth of national feeling during the Hebrew period. Nationalism focused prophetic idealism into a cultural particularism which gave the nation a racial consciousness and a racial ideal. The concept of race is much more durable than the concept of nation. This is so partly because it gives a group such a strong sense of unity that it can assimilate and make its own the entire past of the country. This is what happened in the case of the Hebrews. The history of the country became the history of its latest conquerors. Thus Abraham, an Amorite, or possibly a Horite, chieftain, became the eponymous ancestor from whose loins sprang the blood that courses in Hebrew veins. Thus Jacob and Joseph, in reality Hyksos, were absorbed into the racial tradition and became Hebrews. One can thus see the word "Hebrew," originally not an ethnic term at all, acquiring a definite racial connotation, becoming the designation, *par excellence*, of a distinct cultural race. This sort of a group

⁷ Cf. the disunity reflected in the Amarna letters.

consciousness could not have been developed long prior to prophetic times, since the conditions for its emergence did not earlier exist.

The feeling that one has, as one traces this progress through successive yet genetically related patterns of culture, that the sense of divine guidance which is expressed in the blurred written record of the process is not without a basis in reality, is enhanced as one considers the phenomenon of Israel's prophetic succession. Much of this can be explained in terms of environment, but not everything. All the environmental factors, all the social pressures and tensions, which had contributed to the emergence of Hebrew prophecy had been experienced in other civilizations. Yet neither in Egypt nor in Mesopotamia, though one would not ignore Urukagina or Hammurabi, Neferrohu or Ikhnaton—not to mention others whose contributions to the spiritual progress of mankind are none the less real because less generally known—did there arise a great succession of men whose spiritual force was weighty enough to regenerate a people's spirit and transform their philosophy.

It is not enough to say that the environment which has been previously described called for them, that the times were ripe for them, that the situation was such that they had to rise above contemporary cultures to a point where they could criticize them and enunciate a new philosophy of life. The situation does not explain entirely how there came to be, in such a notable succession of individuals, the capacity of creative attentiveness which could enlarge a range of values, which could raise mythology to theology,

and which could purge and purify the social techniques utilized by the priestly custodians of culture.⁸ Their achievement, indeed, marks the beginning of the third great step of the cultural evolution in Canaan. With the prophets there begins to break upon the world the catholic vision of human destiny which has found but partial expression in the Judaism and the Christianity which have attempted to carry forward the prophetic impulse, the vision which by some cultural instrument must be made a reality if the human race is not to destroy itself by its own technical cleverness. Nothing so significant was ever previously achieved in the Holy Land. It was, indeed, their contribution which made the land "holy." No word less meaningful than "Revelation" can adequately convey its significance.

A bird's-eye view of the cultural history of Canaan permits one, then, to see, amid the kaleidoscopic changes of passing time and circumstance, a cosmic undergirding. Despite changes in population through constant immigration, despite the confusions of cultural syncretism resulting from these, despite the disrupting influence of war and catastrophe, one can see running through the long centuries a thread of continuity leading on to a better world and back to a cosmic will. Neither Canaanite nor Hebrew culture was ever a mere mosaic of cultural elements assembled from neighboring cultures. The religious culture of Palestine always had its own individuality, imposed upon it by geographical position, by topography, and by the tenacious endurance of its native popu-

⁸ Cf. W. C. Graham, *The Prophets and Israel's Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

lations which were never, at any one time, completely supplanted by invaders. Canaan and Israel, then, cannot be explained entirely in terms of their contemporaneously greater neighbors. The individuality of the land and its people was stamped upon an accumulation of sagas and traditions, which each new infusion of peoples accepted as their own just as much as those they brought with them.

When, therefore, the early Old Testament historians represented the history of Canaan as a continuous development from remote times and reckoned themselves as lineal descendants of the patriarchs, they were not so far from the spiritual truth and were veraciously reflecting their own feeling of the continuity of the cultural evolution which had produced them. They were the true heirs of the cultural heritage of Canaan, and what they had inherited was theirs to do with as they might. They were not a new and separate stratum of the population which had come into the country with different ideas. They were an integral part of the stream of life in Canaan, fully privileged to condition the course of that stream in response to whatever new conceptions might suggest themselves to their vision and approve themselves to their judgment. The individuality of the Hebrews, as distinct from the Mesopotamians or the Egyptians, was due, in large part, to their appropriation of the past of Canaan.

Although it is no part of the task here attempted to carry the analysis of the religious cultures of Canaan down into the Judaistic and Christian cultures, one may be permitted to say that a most valuable clew to the understanding of Christian culture lies in the blurred record of the cultural origins of the Hebrews. It is no longer pos-

sible for any informed person to regard the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, respectively, as rising from wholly distinct and different cultures. The roots of the Christian religion will be found to lie more deeply in the Hebrew and Canaanite ideology than is commonly supposed by many who seek them elsewhere. The influence of Hellenism on the Christology of early Jewish Christianity, for example, has been grotesquely exaggerated. Many of the so-called Hellenisms are native to Jewish and Hebrew culture and even, in some cases, to Canaanite culture. The latter, in a sense hardly less real than was the case with Hebrew culture, was a preparation for and a prophecy of Christianity which blends them both into a new and more satisfying synthesis of life. It was these earlier cultures *in the Holy Land* which transmitted to Christianity the major outlines of its faith and the most effective elements of its body of symbols. For there and then God was seeking to lead men into a knowledge of the truth by the same road as that which was more clearly illuminated by Jesus.

The record is blurred. But still visible through the blurring, to the eye of him who searches for it, is the divine plan. It contemplates not merely the mastery of the planet, for this is a concept which appears to have satisfying finality only to minds which habituate themselves to the contiguous and the contemporary. Mastery of the planet is, according to this record, but a halfway house on the road to human destiny. It so appears to those who, like the Psalmist, learn to look past the superficialities of substance and object into the heart of reality with its attributes of time, motion, and continuity, and so come to

glimpse the rôle man is destined to play by the inclusion of his planet in an infinite cosmos. Such may, in the exuberance of a sense of Man's power, cry:

Thou makest him ruler over the works of thy hands.
Thou has put all things under his feet!

But they will not forget to enfold such thoughts in the mantle of the grander theme which the psalmist touches as he sings:

O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is thy name in all the earth.

The divine plan contemplates the attunement of human personality to the cosmic mind—the reflection, in human relationships, of the enfolding harmony and undergirding security with which the celestial bodies surround a planet on which lives a creature made in the image of God. Blurred though the record be, this is its import.

APPENDIX

PIONEERING THE "NEW PAST" IN PALESTINE

In spite of the very considerable effort which has already been expended upon Palestinian archaeology, the exploitation of that field of research is still no more than just emerging from its pioneering stage. Discoveries of thrilling importance, such as those recently made by the French at Ras Shamra on the north coast of Syria,¹ may well reward further investigation of several sites in Palestine itself.

It is expedient at this point that something be suggested of what has already been achieved by the long line of individuals who have pioneered the "New Past" in Palestine. To attempt a formal history of Palestinian archaeology, even in a condensed form, is unnecessary.² There are, however, many salient facts which, if presented in a somewhat impressionistic fashion, may suggest how the scientific flair for curiosity in time brings forth the fruits of knowledge and understanding.

If the Palestinian archaeologist were interested in doing so, he might derive his own particular line from royalty. The first person to direct an archaeological expedition in this region was the Emper-

¹ For a discussion of the possible bearing of these inscriptions on the history of Hebrew culture see W. C. Graham, "New Light on the Cultural Origins of the Hebrews," *JR*, XIV (1934), 306 ff.; and J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets. Their Bearing on the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1935).

² Cf. the following excellent formal summaries: G. A. Barton, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (6th ed.; Philadelphia: Amer. S. S. Union, 1933), pp. 104-45; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (New York: Revell Co., 1932), pp. 1-62; for a more detailed discussion see F. J. Bliss, *The Development of Palestine Exploration* (New York: Scribners, 1906).

or Constantine, far famed as the first Christian ruler of the Roman Empire. Even from the beginning, religious motivations have played, as they still do, a very considerable part in the stimulation of interest in the past.

Before Constantine's time, it is true, there had been some piously motivated exploration of Palestine. It is known that Alexander, Bishop of Cappadocia, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with some exploratory ends in view as early as 212 A.D. The anonymous "Bordeaux Pilgrim," a contemporary of Constantine, who visited the country in 333 A.D., has left the earliest narrative of an exploratory itinerary from which a minimum of descriptive materials may be derived.³

The relative lack of interest, among Christians prior to the times of the first Christian emperor, in the holy places of Palestine has been attributed to such indoctrination as the following: "Wherefore, henceforth know we no man according to the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ according to the flesh yet now henceforth know we him so no more" (II Cor. 5:16). It is indeed true, that the early church officially placed the emphasis upon the supernatural Messiah who symbolized the redemptive and salutary purposes which, according to its faith, informed the universe. Yet, bearing in mind what is known of the cult places of the ancient Near East, and of the religious habits of the common people who frequented them, there is every reason to believe that interest in the places where Jesus suffered death and where his flesh was entombed would at no time have been completely allowed to lapse. Thus the existence of the pagan monuments which Constantine had to have removed when, in 326 A.D., with the definite object of recovering the tomb of Jesus, he initiated the first archaeological expedition to operate on Palestinian soil, increases rather than diminishes the probability that the traditions which guided him were not without validity.

The records of this first expedition were not so elaborately and reliably kept as is the case today. Nevertheless, the following passage from the pen of Eusebius (260-339 A.D.) is interesting from an archaeological standpoint:

³ Cf. *PPT*, Vol. I.

And as soon as his [Constantine's] orders were given, the contrivances of deceit were cast down from on high to the ground, and the dwelling-places of error, images, and demons and all, were overthrown and utterly destroyed. Nor did his zeal stop there. The emperor further gave directions that the material of that which was destroyed, both wood and stone, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible, which was done in accordance with his command. But only to go thus far did not satisfy him. Again, being inspired with holy zeal, he issued orders that, having dug up the soil to a considerable depth, they should transport to a far distant spot the actual ground, earth, and all, inasmuch as it had been polluted by the defilements of demon-worship. This also was accomplished without delay. And as one layer after another was laid bare, the place which was beneath the earth appeared; then forthwith, contrary to all expectation, did the venerable and hallowed monument of our Savior's resurrection become visible, and the most holy cave received what was an exact emblem of his coming to life. For after its descent into darkness it again came forth into light, and afforded to those who came to see a clear insight into the history of the wonders which had there been wrought, testifying to the resurrection of the Savior by deeds more eloquent than any voice could be.⁴

Constantine's project certainly qualifies as a genuine archaeo-logical excavation. But the same "holy zeal" with which he was imbued, according to the relatively sober record of Eusebius, moved later writers to embellish the record in the interests of the sanctity and the popularity of the site itself. Constantine's mother was alleged to have added much to the emperor's recovery of the places associated with the death and burial of Jesus. The three crosses that stood upon Calvary on that tragic occasion were added to the original discovery. But these were not enough. It was, in time, noised abroad through the Christian world that the reed, the crown of thorns, the spear, the sponge, the carpenter's bench at which Jesus had worked, the book from which he had learned his letters, and even his own veritable handprints and footprints had been also recovered. Thus the record of that growing traffic in sacred relics, to the lure of which the pious credulity of the average pilgrim rendered him susceptible, may be traced back to its beginnings.

⁴ From Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III, chaps. 26-28. Translated by J. H. Bernard, *PPT*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 3.

The following quotation from the *Itinerary of Antoninus Martyr* (ca. 570 A.D.) will illustrate the continued elaboration of the emphasis which was placed upon sacred places and relics in the early Christian cultus:

In the Basilica of Constantine, which adjoins the tomb and Golgotha, in the atrium of the church itself, is a chamber where the wood of the holy cross is placed, which we adored and kissed; for I also saw, and held in my hand and kissed, the title which was placed over the head of Jesus, upon which is written, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." This wood of the cross was of nut. When the holy cross is brought forth from its chamber into the atrium of the church to be adored, at that same hour a star appears in the heaven and comes above the place where the cross is placed. While the cross is being worshipped, the star stands above it, and oil is brought to it to be blessed in moderate-sized flasks. At the time, however, when the wood of the cross touches these flasks, the oil boils up out of them, and unless they are quickly closed, it all pours out. When the cross is brought back to its place, the star likewise retires; and afterwards, when the cross is shut up, the star appears no more. There also is the sponge and the reed, of which mention is made in the gospel, and we drank from the sponge. There is also the cup of onyx which our Lord blessed at the last supper and many other relics. Above is the painting of the blessed Mary and her girdle, and the wrapper which she wore upon her head. There, too, are seven marble seats of the elders.⁵

In addition this record stands as a pertinent comment on one phase of the actual functioning of the Western brand of supernaturalism. In its cosmology it had clung desperately to what it believed to be the letter of Genesis. But in its soteriology dualism was strong enough to vitiate the doctrine of the divine immanence and to compel an emphasis upon the unique instruments of a mode of salvation which operated only through a certain clearly defined social channel. Thus, as the emphasis upon these unique instruments of salvation was intensified, the chasm between the sacred and the secular was deepened and widened.

Under the aegis of such a philosophy it is but to be expected that the valuable results accruing from the exploration of Palestine in this early stage should come through contributions to historical

⁵ Trans. A. Stewart, *PPT*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 16.

geography rather than through what was added to the material remains of earlier days.⁶ The *Onomasticon of Eusebius*, which was later translated and expanded by Jerome (346-420 A.D.) is a dictionary of place names which attempts to suggest identifications. Its value for the modern student of historical geography is suggested by the fact that it may be of help in casting the deciding vote in settling whether ancient Lachish is to be identified with modern Tell el-Hesi or Tell ed-Duweir.⁷ Much that is of value for historical geography is also found in the descriptions of the country and of its shrines bequeathed in the records of such pilgrims as St. Silvia of Aquitaine (ca. 380 A.D.), Paula of Rome (ca. 382 A.D.), Arculf (ca. 670 A.D.), Bernard the Wise (ca. 870 A.D.), and many others. Remarkable studies of the geography of Palestine were contributed also by the Arabs in the writings of such as Istakhri (951 A.D.) and his contemporary Shams ad-Din.

To that stage of the pioneering of the "New Past" in Palestine to which attention has hitherto been directed belongs also what was accomplished during the Crusades. Here, as through the previous centuries, the scientific spirit of inquiry had not yet liberated itself from that chrysalis of supernaturalistic faith through which it had been engendered and nourished for untold centuries.⁸ Though the interest of the Christian world in Palestine was greatly stimulated by the effort to wrest it from the hands of the alleged "infidel," the crusaders and their camp followers were driven by the same motives, and were under the domination of the same world-view, as those who had earlier visited the Holy Land under more peaceful guise. Consequently they continued to lay the emphasis on New Testament sites rather than upon those which are of more interest to students of the Old Testament. Possibly because of the military

⁶ It is, however, to be conceded that through Constantine's project the true tomb of Jesus, or at least its correct vicinity, may have been located. The problem is admittedly complex, but close study of the evidence seems to point to this conclusion.

⁷ Cf. M. Burrows, "Daroma," *JPOS*, XII (1932), 142 ff.

⁸ Cf. W. C. Graham, "Religion and Human Worth," *JR*, X (1930), 495 ff.

necessity under which they labored, they contributed surprisingly little in the field of historical geography. Apparently their interest was confined largely to their own immediate present. They were conditioned by a past which was formally, rather than vitally, related to their contemporary scene—an old past which they had no interest in transforming into a "new" past. The nature of the records they left about the Holy Land suggests that the crusade which they sponsored was in some sense only superficially related to the loyalty through which they rationalized it.

Among the documents bequeathed by the crusaders which are of value for historical geography is a guidebook known as *Eugesippus-Fetellus* (ca. 1130 A.D.). In this there is a surprising number of Old Testament references, including the stations in the desert wandering. Though the historical geography of the work is in general uncritical, distances between places are given, along with historical notations. The following may be cited as a typical paragraph: "Five miles from Nazareth is Chana of Galilee, an ancient city in the tribe of Asser: in it Jesus, when a boy, turned water into wine. From Chana came Symon the Cananean, and Philip, and Nathanael."⁹ In at least one case a digression is made which may be of significance as indicating either the innocent credulity of the writer or that lack of intellectual integrity which is often closely related to it. He gives a somewhat unpalatable and utterly impossible account of certain life-habits of the crocodiles which infest "the rivers of Caesarea."¹⁰ Into his record he introduces certain details which ascribe to worms a degree of intelligence and social co-operation that passes belief. A passage such as this does nothing at all to increase one's confidence in the writer's general ability to make reliable observations. Indeed, this earliest phase of what might, as a whole, be called the pre-scientific era of archaeological research in Palestine is not, in general, as might be expected, distinguished for factual reliability.

⁹ Trans. J. R. Macpherson, *PPT*, V, Part I, 30.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 47 f. It is, perhaps, not generally known that until quite recent years there were crocodiles in Palestine. Just north of Caesarea is the Nahr el-Zerka referred to by Pliny and others as the Crocodile River.

From the closing years of this era of pious credulity there is derived, however, a record which adumbrates a distinct advance in this respect in the next phase of this pre-scientific stage, the beginnings of which, significantly enough, coincide with the Renaissance. This was a document known as *A Description of the Holy Land*¹¹ by Burchard of Mount Sion, a German Dominican monk, who also visited Egypt, Syria, and Cilicia. It contains a valuable description of certain antiquities which its author had observed at Samaria and Amrit.¹² Thus early was the German flair for scientific investigation of the past manifested on the Palestinian front of the emerging cultural frontier which still beckons to those who live the attentive life.

With the Renaissance the pioneering of the "New Past" in Palestine definitely entered a new phase. That revival of learning for learning's sake marks the final throes of the struggle of the scientific spirit to free itself from subserviency to a certain view of the world in order that, at some distant date, through the honest pursuit of knowledge, there might be constructed some more stately mansion of faith in which the human race may enjoy a larger sense of being at home in the universe. That pregnant era, which was to be climaxed with a suddenly enlarged sense of freedom to grow through Columbus' discovery of America, had a distinctive spiritual quality the effects of which were manifested, as elsewhere, in the work of those who, during that period, carried on the investigation of the past in Palestine.

Among these should be mentioned Sir John Mandeville, a great traveler of the fourteenth century, who visited, among other places, Palestine and Egypt.¹³ He was undoubtedly among the earliest to be imbued with the new spirit of exploration. Earlier in the same century the travels of a Venetian, Marino Sanuto (*ca.* 1321 A.D.) had resulted in a somewhat valuable geography of Palestine,¹⁴ written, however, in the hope of inspiring a revival of the Crusades. In a sense, then, its author was devoted to the old, rather than to the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff., 50 ff.

¹³ Cf. *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville* (late ed.; London, 1839). The original was written in 1357 A.D.

¹⁴ *PPT*, Vol. XII.

"new," past. A much more important contribution was made, in the same century, by Rabbi E. B. Mose Ha-Parchi. He faithfully devoted seven years to exploration in Palestine, and the geographical studies completed in 1322 A.D., which he based upon the data he acquired, were penetrating to a degree previously unknown.¹⁵ Five centuries later, Edward Robinson, whose significant labors will shortly be touched upon, followed an identification made by Ha-Parchi when he erroneously equated Megiddo with the site of the modern village of Lejjun, which was, however, in the vicinity of ancient Megiddo.

Coming now to the fifteenth century it is incumbent to mention the work of another Dominican, Felix Fabri. He contributed interesting accounts of his travels in Palestine which fill four volumes of the "Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society."¹⁶ His record is valuable for its accurate descriptions based on his honest, though necessarily limited, attempts at historical research through the investigation of ancient sites.

From the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries interest in the antiquities of Jerusalem, Shechem, Samaria, Jerash, and other sites paralleled that which was being contemporaneously directed to the antiquities of Greece and Rome. This really marks the beginning of the modern era of archaeological research in Palestine.

One more name, however, must be mentioned before attention is turned to the scientific period of Palestinian exploration. It is that of Johannes Ludwig Burckhardt, who, disguised as an Arab, explored the country between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba, and who first disclosed to the Western world the loveliness which is Petra.¹⁷ His journeys also carried him into Syria, the Hauran, and the peninsula of Sinai.¹⁸

¹⁵ Cf. Esthori B. Mose Ha-Parchi, *Khafithor va-ferach* (in Rabbinic) (Venice, 1549).

¹⁶ *PPT*, Vols. VII-X.

¹⁷ For the most recent description of Petra see the article by J. Whitling, "Petra, Ancient Caravan Stronghold," *National Geographic Magazine*, LXVII, (1935), 129 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London: J. Murray, 1822).

Professor Albright has happily described as "The First Phase of Scientific Exploration"¹⁹ that which begins in 1832 with the work of Edward Robinson, Professor of Biblical Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York. The caliber of Robinson appears in the circumstance that he had devoted the previous fifteen years to intensive preparation for research in Palestine in the hope that "a fit opportunity for such a journey would have presented itself." When the long-anticipated moment came, he was doubly fortunate in being able to command the valuable assistance of Rev. Eli Smith, an American missionary stationed in Beirut.

Robinson was deeply imbued with the true scientific spirit. His biblical scholarship was both exact and broad. He resisted the lure of unsupported tradition in the identification of sites. He made use of modern Arabic place names as clues for their ancient names.²⁰ Besides being of value for the rich scientific fruits of his labors, his account of his expeditions of 1838 and 1852, written in diary form,²¹ will be read with pleasure by anyone who enjoys travel narratives couched in attractive literary style.

The researches of Robinson were, however, conditioned by one of the characteristics of this first phase of the scientific period. The attention of those who worked in Palestine at that time was confined to surface exploration and the notation of the visible antiquities. Thus the possibilities, as an index to buried cities, of the flat-topped mound known to natives as a *tell* were not realized. Even some years later, when a start had been made at excavation by De Saulcy, who in 1851 was clearing the tomb of the kings in Jerusalem, or by Renan, who in 1860-61 was excavating on the Phoenician coast with French soldiers wielding his spades, or by the English excavators, Wilson and Warren, who, at approximately the same time, were digging about Jerusalem, there was still no

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁰ The value of this clue becomes apparent by comparing the following pairs of modern place names with their established ancient equivalents: Beisan = Beth-Shan; er-Ram = Ramah; Seilun = Shiloh; Esdud = Ashdod.

²¹ Cf. Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (2d ed.; 3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1856).

inkling of the amazing possibilities concealed by these *tells* in the open country. In 1852 Robinson stood upon Tell el-Mutesellim, its flat top "covered with a fine crop of wheat," and, contemplating the rolling plain at its foot, pondered on the site of Megiddo. He did, indeed, consider the spot on which he was standing, but dismissed the idea thus: "The tell would indeed present a splendid site for a city, but there is no trace, of any kind, to show that a city ever stood there."²² Yet, lying beneath his feet there were some twenty-five buried cities. And on the surface itself there were tell-tale traces which would send a modern archaeologist scurrying for his pick and shovel. But, belonging to a time to which such traces were not legible, Robinson reaffirmed his previous identification of Megiddo with the nearby village of Lejjun, on which site, it is now fairly certain, there are no remains older than the age of Roman occupation.

In 1845-46 the German, Titus Tobler, spent twenty weeks in the vicinity of Jerusalem. He wrote 3,753 pages in seven volumes²³ on that area which reflects the influence of Robinson and gives the reader an inkling of the rich fruits of exploration up to his time. In direct line with these outstanding exponents of surface exploration stands George Adam Smith, author of the most-read book on the historical geography of Palestine.²⁴ His work combines a warm appreciation of the country with the careful and scientific studies which he made on the ground in 1880, 1890, 1901, and 1904. The very latest to be most deservedly added to this illustrious line is Père Abel.²⁵

By the middle of the nineteenth century the faithful labors of these early scientific explorers of Palestine had begun to have such

²² *Op. cit.*, III, 117.

²³ See *Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen* (Berlin, 1853), and the discussion by H. V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 588 ff.

²⁴ *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1931). This volume has just passed through its twenty-fifth edition.

²⁵ F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Tome I: *Géographie physique et historique*, (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1931).

an effect upon the public that organized participation in the work in the near future was assured. The initiation of this aspect of the endeavor to understand the past came in 1865 with the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund²⁶ under the distinguished patronage of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. This organization not only was destined to become the greatest single agency for the promotion of archaeological research in the Holy Land but was also to stimulate the formation of several similar societies.

The original prospectus of the PEF indicates its purpose to raise a fund for research to be carried on in the land "in which the documents of our faith were written, and the momentous events which they describe enacted." The religious motivation which this indicates is supported by the early subscription lists recorded in the society's journal. These are not without their human interest. Great donations are conspicuous by their absence. The enterprise was fostered by people of all ranks and stations in life. "Some little boys at Reading" gave two shillings and six pence, doubtless at some cost of self-denial. Five shillings were anonymously devoted "as a widow's offering," assuredly by one whose needs were being met "by the documents of our faith."²⁷

It was natural that Jerusalem should first attract the interest of this organization. In this thickly populated city, where excavations could be made only by sinking deep shafts from the bottom of which tunnels could be driven in different directions, some of the earliest attempts at genuinely scientific excavation were made. Many of these earlier excavators were army officers. Some of them, like Lieutenant Charles Warren, who later attained general rank and knighthood, and Captain Wilson did most important service in those early years. Warren's *Recovery of Jerusalem*, published in 1870, is, perhaps, the first great archaeological publication. Captain H. S. Palmer, who lost his life while trying to pass as an Arab during his explorations in the desert of Tih, was the PEF's first martyr.

Every effort made demanded the undertaking of still more am-

²⁶ Henceforth referred to as "PEF."

²⁷ See "List of Subscriptions January 1st. to March 31st., 1869," *PEFQS*, I (1869), 27 f.

bitious projects. In 1871, under Captain Stewart, there was initiated by the PEF an undertaking which contemplated a complete scientific survey of western Palestine. This involved mapping the entire land, drawing its contours, and outlining its historical geography through careful checking of previous studies. Fever necessitated Stewart's retirement, and Lieutenant Claude R. Conder carried through most of the work, although Captain, later Lord, Kitchener, directed the survey near its close. Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, who was associated with Conder, succumbed to the Jericho fever and added one more to the list of lives sacrificed for the recovery of the past. Not the least important result of the enterprise, which was completed in 1877-78, was a large map covering 6,000 square miles. This cartographic achievement, on which all subsequent maps of Palestine have been based, constituted a distinct landmark in the history of exploration in the Holy Land.²⁸

Enthusiasm for archaeological research continued to grow as important discoveries were made. The Moabite Stone, a monument inscribed at the order of King Mesha of Moab,²⁹ a contemporary of King Ahab of Israel, was discovered in 1868. Twelve years later the discovery of an inscription placed by King Hezekiah in the water works described in II Kings 20:20 was reported to Dr. Conrad Schick. This has ever since been known as the Siloam Inscription. A word about Schick himself is not amiss. He was a Swiss missionary who had for some time interested himself in excavating for the PEF around Jerusalem and Silwan. His minute knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem and his deeply religious spirit give him a conspicuous place among the notable figures of this golden age of exploration in Palestine. To this day his models of the Jerusalem temple, which are on view at the Y.M.C.A. in that city, command the interest of scholars and tourists alike.

It was inevitable that the rapidly developing science of archaeology should not escape occasional attacks of growing-pains. These occurred in sporadic efforts at the forgery of antiquities and in the

²⁸ At the present time the British administration in Palestine is carrying out an extensive survey project. See *PEFQS*, LXVII (1935), 38 f.

²⁹ Cf. II Kings 3:4, where Mesha is mentioned.

usual controversies. An interesting example of the former is the case of a certain Mr. Shapira,³⁰ which fills one of the strangest pages in the story of archaeology. Mr. Shapira produced, as authentic antiquities, inscriptions and other objects purporting to be specimens of ancient Moabite culture. Among these forgeries was a clay figurine which bore a remarkable resemblance to Napoleon III, as well as a manuscript of Deuteronomy—with a text varying somewhat from that of the present Hebrew Bible—which, it was whispered, had been written by Moses himself. Sharp controversies arose over the authenticity of these antiquities, some of which were sold for fabulous sums; and it was finally the French scholar, Clermont-Ganneau, who exposed their spurious nature.

The controversies of those days reveal much the same motivations as those of any other day. This is rather amusingly illustrated in a passage from a certain author who, in 1891, was much upset by a contemporary's "astounding identification" of the conduit to which reference is made in II Kings 18:17. He wrote: "As this would ruin my gutter let me apply a little healthy criticism to his paper."³¹

The year 1890 ushered in the second phase of scientific exploration in Palestine.³² This phase may be justly described as the period of excavation when sub-surface exploration was as fully exploited as had been surface exploration in the preceding phase. The name of the distinguished Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie is inseparably associated with this advance in Palestinian research.

One of the significant features of this phase is the direction of attention to the *tells* or mounds which up to that time had been neglected. For, although Conder, in 1877, could still not tell whether Tell el-Mutesellim was an antiquity site, the situation had en-

³⁰ Cf. *The Little Daughter of Jerusalem* (New York: Dutton & Co., 1919). This volume by Mlle Myriam Harry, a pseudonym used by a daughter of Shapira, reviews the incident from the standpoint of a member of the family. It is translated from the French by Phoebe Allen.

³¹ Rev. W. F. Birch, "The Gutter near the Fuller's Field," *PEFQS*, XXIII (1891), 254.

³² Cf. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

tirely changed by 1890. In addition to the recognition of this fresh source of evidence, Petrie developed what has proved to be an invaluable technique in the interpretation of such new evidence. It was he who first pointed out the possibilities of pottery as a chronological index.³³ As time passes and as the influence of intruding cultures is felt, the pottery forms of a region change. By analyzing these transitions it is possible to reconstruct the chronology of a site which yields no inscriptional evidence. By comparison of these types with those found in other sites and areas which afford datable evidence, it is often possible to achieve at least a partial historical chronology of a site, as well as to determine something about the political and cultural relationships of its inhabitants.³⁴

The first site excavated by Petrie under the auspices of the PEF was Tell el-Hesi, which lies at the edge of the coastal plain in a southwesterly direction from Jerusalem. Partly on account of the propinquity of the modern village of Umm el-Lakis, he identified it with ancient Lachish,³⁵ the headquarters of Sennacherib during his campaign against Hezekiah in 701 B.C.³⁶ In his account of his labors Petrie relates an incident which illustrates the human problems with which an archaeologist may have to deal.³⁷ He was threatened by a ferocious Arab who waved before him a very thirsty-looking sword. The archaeologist only saved himself by resorting to a most unexpected gesture. He tickled the pugnacious gentleman under the chin, thus exhibiting, whether he knew it or not, penetrating insight into the primitive Semitic sense of humor.³⁸

³³ On this point Petrie remarked: "In the future all *tells* and ruins in the country will at once reveal their age by the potsherds which cover them." Cf. *PEFQS*, XXII (1890), 165.

³⁴ For an illustration of the uses of pottery types see R. M. Engberg and G. M. Shipton, in "Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations," No. 10 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

³⁵ Cf. p. 318.

³⁶ II Kings 18:14.

³⁷ "Journals of Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie," *PEFQS*, XXII (1890), 219 ff.

³⁸ Cf. I Sam. 24:4; II Sam. 10:4; *et passim*.

With Petrie at Tell el-Hesi was F. J. Bliss, who continued the work after Petrie's departure. Bliss also, with the assistance of A. C. Dickie, excavated at Jerusalem, especially on Mount Ophel (1894-97). During the next three seasons he associated himself with R. A. S. Macalister in excavating four ancient sites in the lowlands or Shephelah: Tell eṣ-Ṣafi, ancient Libnah or Makkedah; Tell Zakariya, ancient Azekah; Tell Sandahannah, ancient Marash or Moresheth-Gath; and Tell Judeideh, the ancient name of which is still unknown.

The method of excavation employed by Petrie and his associates at Tell el-Hesi is worth a moment's notice. They began by digging trenches. But they used these only in the attempt to locate the most promising area on the mound. Later they cleared the successive levels over a considerable area. Both methods continue in use. But gradually, except where impractical or financially impossible, the trench method is being displaced as much less likely to yield scientifically satisfactory results. It is perhaps significant, in this connection, that Macalister followed the plan of clearing a large section of the *tell* in the notable work he carried on at Tell el-Jezar, ancient Gezer, through the seasons 1902-9, although, to do this, he dug adjoining parallel trenches, some forty feet wide, "each sunk to the rock over the whole of its surface before the next was begun." The three volumes he published on his work at Gezer are still the "classic" publication of Palestinian archaeology, and easily the best known of all reports in that field.³⁹ It is true, of course, that recent knowledge has necessitated the modification of some of the conclusions of this early group of excavators, particularly on points of chronology. Recent knowledge of pottery, for example, makes it extremely unlikely that Gezer was occupied between 900 B.C. and 500 B.C.⁴⁰ Likewise it can now be definitely affirmed that the occupation of Tell el-Hesi began within the third millennium B.C. rather than in the second, as the excavators judged. Nevertheless, the desirability of the methods employed in these excavations is attested by the consistent and continued value of the reports.

³⁹ *Excavations at Gezer* (3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1912).

⁴⁰ W. F. Albright, *AASOR*, XII, 76 f.

Although the Germans had, under the direction of H. Guthe, excavated at Ophel in 1880, the German exploration societies only began to be really active at the turn of the twentieth century. Their earliest serious archaeological projects were those undertaken by E. Sellin at Tell Taanek, ancient Taanach, in 1902-3;⁴¹ by G. Schumacher at Tell el-Mutesellim, ancient Megiddo in 1903-5; by Sellin, with the assistance of Watzinger, at Tell es-Sultan, ancient Jericho, in 1907-9; and again by Sellin at Balata, ancient Shechem, in 1913-14.

It must be emphasized that the results of all these expeditions were highly valuable for the recovery of the "New Past." The methods employed, naturally enough, serve, in contrast with those of later excavators on the same sites, to accentuate the scientific progress made by archaeology in recent years. The trenching method was followed in the early work on all three of these sites. Sellin, in his labors at Taanach, made no attempt to remove the débris beyond the mound. Such a procedure seriously complicates the problems of later archaeologists. The same is also the case with the trenching method as used by Schumacher. The present excavators of Megiddo, for example, experienced much difficulty in the pursuit of their original plan to remove each level in turn over the entire area of the *tell* because it was such a baffling task to co-ordinate the various city levels on either side of the old trenches.

Sellin's Jericho excavations, in addition to other valuable data, disclosed what seemed to be reliable evidence for dating at about 1400 B.C. the destruction of the city which is narrated, with legendary embellishments, in the Book of Joshua. The excavations recently carried on there by John Garstang have on this point yielded evidence which he judges to be confirmatory.⁴² There is, however,

⁴¹ Sellin was a German; but this excavation, and in part also the Jericho excavation, were under Austrian auspices.

⁴² Many believe Sellin's date for the fall of Jericho to be about two centuries too early. Recent explorations by Dr. Nelson Glueck may have an important bearing on this point so far as it is related to the story of the Exodus. Cf. *BASOR*, No. 55 (1934), pp. 15 f. and *AASOR*, XIV (1933-34), 1 ff. For Professor Albright's dating of the Exodus cf. *BASOR*, No. 58 (1935).

no unanimity of judgment among scholars on this question. At the moment all one can say, then, is that the date of the fall of Jericho and the bearing of that event on the historicity of the narrative of the Exodus are still unsolved problems.

American interest in the recovery of the "New Past" in Palestine achieved its first organized expression with the founding of the American School of Oriental Research in the year 1900. With an original capital of \$2,000 it housed itself temporarily in a single room of the Grand New Hotel in Jerusalem. In spite of these small beginnings, it has come to be to American archaeological endeavor what the PEF is to English, and the *Deutscher Palästina Vereins* to German, research. There is no justification for comparing the results of these three great active organizations, since no two of them operate on the same policy. The American School has so far attempted but one large-scale operation, that at Tell Beit Mirsim. It has usually essayed smaller "digs" both by itself and in co-operation with other institutions. It has been a most effective agent in the co-ordination of the results of various archaeological projects. It has fostered not only excavation but surface exploration. Among the many territories and sites which have claimed its attention are the following: Sidon, the Dead Sea region, the Arabah, Samieh, Sinai, Malhal, Tell en-Nasbeh, Tell Beit Mirsim, Bethel, Beth-Shemesh, Jerash, Beth-Zur, Gibeah, Antioch, Ammon, Moab, El-Hammeh, and Edom.⁴³

The founding of the American School doubtless had much to do with stimulating a new feature of American activity which was only to become prominent, however, in the post-war period. This was the direct participation of institutions of learning in archaeological research in Palestine. During the seasons 1908-10, under the auspices of Harvard University, excavations were carried on at Samaria by G. A. Reisner, D. G. Lyon, and C. S. Fisher.⁴⁴ The discovery of the palaces of ivory enjoyed by the Israelite kings,⁴⁵ and

⁴³ Cf. *AASOR*, Vol. VI, for the history of the school.

⁴⁴ *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924).

⁴⁵ I Kings 22:39; Amos 3:15; Ps. 45:8.

the even more important recovery of some of the royal archives of Ahab written on pottery sherds in Hebrew letters, make this expedition stand out prominently as a distinct success.

The following decade was to witness some fruitful work, some agitating incidents, and a most serious interruption of all archaeological field work. On the whole, archaeologically speaking, this decade was far from being a success. In 1911-12, under the auspices of the PEF, D. Mackenzie excavated Ain Shems, ancient Beth-Shemesh, and Sir C. L. Woolley, who is best known for his subsequent excavations at Ur, explored the desert of Zin in company with the late T. E. Lawrence, who was to become famous for the adventures which he relates in his *Revolt in the Desert*.

The equilibrium of the archaeological world was agitated, though not upset, by an incident which began in 1909 and which was, as the Shapira incident had been to a previous time, in the nature of growing-pains to the still youthful science of archaeology.⁴⁶ At that most inopportune juncture there arrived in Jerusalem, on a very secret mission, a Swede who hailed immediately from Belgium. He was shortly followed by some Englishmen, one of whom owned a yacht. Last to arrive was a Finn. The party was led by a retired officer of the British army, Captain, the Honorable Montague Parker; and the atmosphere of secrecy with which it was surrounded set many wild rumors to circulating. It was ultimately learned that the objective of the party was a search for buried treasure, and more especially for the Ark of the Covenant. Parker stated that he possessed a secret code, presumably hinted at in the Bible, which placed in his possession information concerning the secret hiding-place in which the treasures of Solomon's temple were hidden. Whether the "discovery" of this code had been the contribution of the Swede or the Finn is not clear.

On this flimsy basis a capital of \$125,000 had been raised, in itself an interesting fact when one considers the meager capital resources which had been afforded many an earlier genuine scientist. This party, however, had no very friendly feelings toward the dev-

⁴⁶ G. Dalman, "The Search for the Temple Treasure at Jerusalem," *PEFQS*, XLIV (1912), 35 ff.

otees of science. Some archaeologists who offered their services in the hope that something of scientific value might accrue from this pious escapade were repulsed, with few, if any, expressions of gratitude. Thanks to the Dominicans, however, a record of the expedition's operations was kept; and whatever of value accrued therefrom is to be found chiefly in the reports of that prince of archaeologists, Père Vincent.⁴⁷

The cipher did not prove to be infallible. But the usual wild rumors were not lacking. At various times it was reported that the crown of David, the sword of Solomon, and the tablets of the Mosaic law had been recovered. The expedition, in other words, stimulated a recrudescence of that same pious credulity through which the Emperor Constantine's expedition had been exploited. The party had worked on the hill of Ophel and in the Siloam tunnel. But, being disappointed with results in these places, the leaders took a long chance and bribed the authorities to permit them to dig within the sacred temple area. Here they worked under cover of darkness only and took every precaution to conceal their operations from the Arab populace, to whom this area was second in sacredness only to the inviolable Mecca itself, being the site of the Dome of the Rock, popularly known as the Mosque of Omar. Unfortunately for others, as well as for the members of the party themselves, an insufficiently bribed guard betrayed these illegal operations; and as a result there came very near being a massacre of the European and American residents of Jerusalem. Some Americans have reported that they dared not leave their houses for several days after the betrayal of the party took place.

The treasure-hunting "archaeologists" managed to flee, in momentary danger of their lives, to Jaffa and the safety of their yacht. But others who had been involved did not fare so well. The governor of Jerusalem was dismissed from his post. The sheikh who had been in charge of the temple area was, with others, arrested and sent to Beirut for trial. Of much greater consequence, however, was

⁴⁷ Cf. L. H. Vincent, *Jerusalem sous terre* (London: H. Cox, 1911); see also E. W. G. Masterman, "Recent Explorations in Jerusalem," *BW*, XXXIX (1912), 295-306.

the effect this incident exercised on authentic archaeological endeavors. For it spread abroad among the Arabs the impression that all archaeologists were treasure-hunters interested only in piratical plunder. The year 1911, during which the Parker expedition came to its inglorious end, was a trying one for the PEF, which had just begun the excavation of Beth Shemesh.

The serious interruption of this eventful second decade of the twentieth century was, of course, the world-wide conflagration of 1914-18. Sub-surface exploration ceased. The PEF was requested by the British War Office to suspend the issue or sale of two important recently completed maps, a revised edition of the general map, and the map of a new survey of the south country and the desert wanderings. On the latter the location of all wells and springs had been precisely indicated, and it was the only authentic map of the district. Such information must be withheld, so far as humanly possible, from the enemy.

Communications between scholars of different nations, which is always a necessity for the fullest development of any science, was greatly curtailed. The archaeological journals, for lack of new data, became very thin reading. The quarterly of the PEF was reduced to publishing such articles as "Bonaparte's Expedition to Palestine in 1799" and "Saint George for England." The pages of the *Museum Journal* were opened more and more to discussions of Chinese and Japanese antiquities. There is, however, one thing at least for which archaeological posterity will bless the World War. It gave Petrie an opportunity to write up some of his rich store of observations in a systematic manner which would have been quite impossible had he been able to go on uninterruptedly with his digging.

On December 9, 1917, Jerusalem fell to the allied armies under the now Field Marshal Edmund, Lord Allenby. By October of the following year all Palestine was in the possession of the Allies and Allenby was in Damascus. For the first time since the Crusades the Holy Sepulcher was under the domination of Christian powers. In that earlier period great religious enthusiasms had centered around the sites hallowed by the life of Jesus, the places of his death and

resurrection. The corresponding enthusiasms of this new conquest, though they were, for the most part, based on a radically different philosophy, were at first not less extravagant. It is difficult to appreciate the surging hopes of those early post-bellum years. After the mandate for Palestine was awarded to England, it became apparent that much less awkward restrictions would be placed upon archaeological operations than had been the case under the Turkish régime. High hopes of the early direction of a flood of light upon the past were entertained even by hardened campaigners like Peetrie, who, in 1919, wrote:

As regards Jerusalem, by far the most satisfactory thing would be to establish a new business town a mile or two out and gradually clear the historic city. Thus the whole of medieval Jerusalem could be removed in the near future, and the Jewish condition of the town brought to light and restored. This, of course, would not interfere with any of the historic buildings which have been erected since Jewish time. The whole of Jerusalem is only a quarter of a square mile, and the city is totally unfit for a business city. It has bad access, and bad water, and is soaked with sewage. The first thing to be done is to get it as clear as we can of human habitation and preserve it as a sanctuary for the three faiths—Jewish, Christian, and Moslem.⁴⁸

Such a program, while advisable from a strictly archaeological standpoint, proved too idealistic and impractical even when the country was reorganized under the new government. In these respects it typified many plans which were projected, though on a less gigantic scale, in the same era. The reorganization of the Department of Antiquities did, however, make Palestine the most accessible field for archaeological research. The appreciation of this achievement has been abundantly attested by the advantage which has been taken of this enlarged opportunity.

Indeed, post-bellum archaeological effort in Palestine has grown to such proportions that justice cannot be done to it within the limits of this discussion. It may, however, be in a measure appreciated by brief references to five features which have characterized it:

1. It has been the most active of all the various periods of research into the past of Palestine. This fact is largely due to the

⁴⁸ *PEFQS*, LI (1919), 3.

great prosperity of America and of other countries from the close of the war and up to 1930. Over twenty-five important sites have been subjected to sub-surface investigation, to say nothing of many minor "digs." Many other promising sites have been treated to thorough preliminary surface exploration.

2. The direct interest of educational institutions in Palestinian archaeology since the war has grown in a very significant fashion. Among the institutions which officially engaged in this work, or which have sent official representatives to various excavations, the following may be mentioned: Harvard University, Yale University, the University of Chicago (Oriental Institute), Princeton University, the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, the University of London, the University of Liverpool, the University of Toronto, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Haverford College, Hebrew Union College, the Pacific School of Religion, Xenia Theological Seminary, the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, L'École Biblique de St. Étienne, and the Pontifical Institute.

In addition to the societies and archaeological schools already mentioned, the following have also been profitably active: the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (an organization of the PEF), the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, and the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.

An honor roll of the persons who have participated prominently in the great post-war archaeological enterprises of these institutions, either as donors, advisers, directors, or explorers, is hardly advisable. It is hoped, however, that the credit due them has been recognized in the case of some, at least, in the foregoing study.

The direct interest of academic institutions in this field is encouraging for at least two reasons: it constitutes recognition of the scientific quality of field research, and it promises growing attention on the part of scholars in general to the interpretation of the archaeological data. Already it is clear that the time is not far distant when this less picturesque task of interpretation will be of at least equal importance with the now more immediately urgent work of amassing evidence.

3. The improvement of techniques of excavation and recording is a notable feature of this era. Enough has already been said to

suggest the nature of some of the major improvements on the technical side. In some instances there has possibly been an overelaboration of methods which has impeded progress in more important matters. This, however, was an error on the right side which at least has not, like many previous errors on the wrong side, actually destroyed or confused otherwise valuable data.

4. The last decade has witnessed a remarkable development in the field of Palestinian pre-history which constitutes a very distinctive feature of the post-war era. The discovery of palaeolithic man near the Sea of Galilee, Mount Carmel, Bethlehem, and Nazareth has created a sensation in the archaeological world. The uncovering of flint cultures extending from paleolithic times to the dawn of the historical age has made Palestine a center of interest to students of the remote past. F. Turville-Petre, M. René Neuville, Miss Dorothy A. E. Garrod, T. D. McCowan, M. Stekelis, and Père Mallon have been outstanding in these researches into pre-history which have added some hundreds of thousands of years to the human record in the Holy Land. Across the stage now walk Levalloisian and Neandertal people whose forms may be visualized through the skeletal remains recovered by those who have prosecuted this phase of research. Equally as important is the new light that has been thrown upon the later peoples who inhabited Palestine in the fourth and third millennia B.C., whose stratified cultures have been revealed at various sites, notably Teleilat Ghassul, Megiddo, Jericho, and Beisan.

5. Last, but by no means least, the post-war period of archaeological research in Palestine has been marked by the increasingly invaluable help which has accrued from the prosecution of similar efforts in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Asia Minor.

Palestinian archaeology, in spite of all the progress which has been made, is still in the pioneering stage. But it is rapidly overcoming the isolation which such a status implies. To a degree never before experienced, those who now pursue the "New Past" in Palestine are helped by those bent on a similar objective in neighboring areas. No more does the Holy Land subsist in a vacuum. The cultures of its peoples are seen to be intimately related to those of

the neighboring groups who were a part of their world. Often their antecedents and relatives can be clearly identified, as, for example, when it becomes clear that the pottery cultures of Palestine in the middle of the second millennium have significant parallels in the Hurrian cultures revealed at Tell Billa in Mesopotamia.⁴⁹ Inscriptions recently found in neighboring territories, as, for example, those discovered at Ras Shamra,⁵⁰ will have a profound effect not only on the interpretation of the archaeological remains, properly so called, of Palestine, but also on the interpretation of its great literary monument, the Bible.

In closing this discussion it may be again remarked that the next great phase of the quest for the "New Past" in Palestine will, whenever it comes, be an interpretative one. The status of the interpretative aspect of the general problem is at present admittedly unsatisfactory. But greater objectivity and factual accuracy, combined with an emphasis on synthesis, on trying to see wholes rather than parts, will undoubtedly correct this and remove much of the confusion and conflict in judgment which makes contemporary interpretative literature so baffling to the professional student, as well as to the layman. Looking back down the long and arduous trail which has here been so inadequately retraced, one is struck by the progress which has been made since the days when even scholars were thinking of Palestinian archaeology simply as a possible means of confirming biblical statements. Now it is being more and more clearly realized that the Bible is significant because it grew out of a long human struggle and that its formation has been influenced by later interpretations of various phases of that social evolution, as well as by the actual struggle itself. And there need be no fear, when science has done its perfect work, that this priceless literary heritage will speak with less authority to peoples of other times and places than it did in the age when it was heard for what men said it was rather than for what it was and still is.

⁴⁹ Cf. E. A. Speiser, "The Pottery of Tell Billa," *MJ*, XXIII (1933), 272 f.

⁵⁰ Cf. pp. 119 ff.

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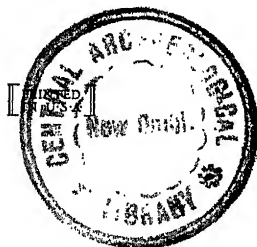
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